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HOMERIC SPEECH INTRODUCTIONS

MARK W. EDWARDS

EVERY speech in Homer must be preceded by an introduction, which may be a word or two, a verse, or several verses. Naturally the majority of these consist of regular formulae of various kinds. One might casually assume, in fact, that most speeches were introduced by τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη, the apparently endless repetition of which was already mocked by the comic poet Cratinus.¹ But a closer observation shows that the range of tone possible within the formulaic expressions (those which occur twice or more) is considerable and that in addition to this a number of speech introductions occur once only and are designed for the particular circumstances in which they are found. The varied use made of the standard expressions displays the wide range of the poet's skill within the formulaic diction; and the unique forms, which may well be his individual work, indicate that he can on occasion pass freely beyond the traditional diction, sometimes with considerable emotional effect.

This paper includes:

Introductions with verb of general sense.

This is a grouping and brief description of those standard formulae of speech introduction in which the meaning is one of "addressing" or "answering" or "addressing with qualification," the qualification being some participle, adverb, or phrase, usually interchangeable with others of the same metrical shape.

II. *Introductions with verb of specific sense.*

Here are listed, in alphabetical order, these speech introductions that include a verb of sense stronger than simply "spoke" or "answered," with brief notes on their usage.

III. *Commentary on anomalous forms.*

This is a discussion of unique forms and expressions of unusual interest or effect, following the order of the books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.²

¹ Porphyry, quoted by Eusebius *Praep. evang.* 10.3, p. 467b.

² For what it may be worth, the total number of occurrences listed in section I is 1,092: total listed in section II, 195: total of speech introductions examined,

In the past, Calhoun³ discussed, with sympathy, the uses of ἔπεια πτερόεντα and ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε, but missed the point, made later in an article by M. Parry,⁴ that the poet has no alternative but to use these expressions in certain circumstances, if he merely wants to say "and he said" (etc.) without further elaboration. An earlier article by Bolling⁵ covered two topics that may be briefly summarized here. The first was the separation of speech introductions into three types: the "brief" type, where the speech is introduced not by a verb of saying but by one that "either merely implies speaking, or indicates in addition the tone, the contents, or the purpose of the speech"; the "full" type, where a similar expression is followed by an explicit verb of speaking; and a third type, where a verse introducing a speech is followed by a certain amount of descriptive material (genealogy, disguise, etc. of the speaker) and then often by a second speech introduction immediately before the actual words. Bolling was not concerned with the literary effects of these different techniques, which are sometimes striking; I have drawn attention to some in the Commentary (part III below), but there are many more where (for instance) the use of the third type focuses attention carefully on the speaker before he begins, or the first type is used to bring out the atmosphere of hostility or fear rather than the personality of the participants.

But Bolling's main topic was the possibility of interpolation of verses of address in the "full" type of expression. Calhoun also showed that he was aware of the possibility of omission or change of some of the lines on which he was partly basing his argument.⁶ For the purposes of this paper, however, I have taken the vulgate text as in the Oxford Classical Text⁷ and am ignoring the fact that some of the lines with which I am dealing, including some that I much admire, have sometimes been considered un-Homeric. Combella's remark, at the

including some that are parallel in form to speech introductions but are not actually followed by direct speech, plus numerous cases where two or more introductory lines precede the same speech, 1,445. These figures may give a rough idea of proportions but should not be pressed further, since no firm line can be drawn between expressions that are counted as a variation on the set forms and those that are not.

³ G. M. Calhoun, "The Art of Formula in Homer — ΕΠΕΑ ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ," *CP* 30 (1935) 215-227.

⁴ M. Parry, "About Winged Words," *CP* 32 (1937) 59-63.

⁵ G. M. Bolling, "On the Interpretation of Certain Homeric Formulas," *CP* 17 (1922) 213-221.

⁶ Calhoun (above, n. 3) 223 n. 3.

⁷ Ed. D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen: *Iliad* (3rd ed. 1920), *Odyssey* (2nd ed. 1917).

conclusion of his study of a formula that concludes speech in Homer, is heartening: "We have here important evidence of the integrity of the textual tradition as far back as the times when the technique of speech formulas was clearly understood and consistently observed."⁸

I. INTRODUCTIONS WITH VERB OF GENERAL SENSE

The expressions are arranged in the following groups:

1. A addressed him in answer
2. A addressed him with qualification
3. A began to speak to them
4. He addressed him in answer
5. He addressed him with qualification
6. He began to speak to him
7. He addressed B with qualification
8. He addressed B
9. A addressed B

This arrangement is, of course, quite artificial, but it has the merit of showing clearly what forms of expression the poet actually tended to use under given circumstances: i.e., the need to include a name or noun of a particular metrical shape in its nominative or accusative (or sometimes dative) case; the desire to include an adverbial expression of some kind with a particular meaning; and adaptation of the verb or verbal expression to various shades of meaning such as "he answered" or "he said (to the other party)" or "he addressed (the assembled group)." Whether a whole verse is to be used, or only a part, is also naturally of importance. Unfortunately, the system separates forms that are obviously closely connected, such as those that differ only in having a name in the nominative or the accusative, or those that take on, or drop, an "answering" sense by merely inserting or omitting *ἀντρε*; and forms that have clear parallels in one particular group but substitute (for instance) an adverbial phrase for a name are difficult to classify. This could be clarified to some extent by extensive cross-referencing, but this is not worthwhile since the system exists only to present the forms of expression that are habitual when a certain sense is required.⁹

The lemma given is the commonest form; parts of the lemma that interchange with grammatically and metrically similar forms are

⁸ F. M. Combellack, "Omitted Speech Formulas in Homer," *UCPCP* 12.4 (1939) 56. At the beginning of this article is a useful bibliography.

⁹ Cross-checking of uses of the same verb is, of course, best done by use of the Concordances.

underlined. I ignore changes in connectives and particles at the beginning of the expression, changes in the person of verbs if there is no metrical difference, and substitution of nouns such as κήρυκα for personal names. The constant variation between *πρός* and *μετά*, alone or compounded with verbs, is not commented on unless the change in sense is important; nor is the change of the noun from accusative to dative after *μετά* forms. The frequency figures (the first to the *Iliad*, the second to the *Odyssey*) are only approximate, as they include verses that have an interchange for the words of the lemma, but not verses that only seem to be based on it or have some similarity with it, and this line often cannot be firmly drawn. An asterisk beside a reference means that the verse is mentioned (and often quoted) in the Commentary in part III below.

The A caesura is the one in the first or second foot of the verse, the B caesura that in the third foot, the H (for hephthemimeral) caesura that between the fourth and fifth feet. In the numbering, these letters indicate that the expression begins at that caesura.

I. A ADDRESSED HIM IN ANSWER

- 1.1 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (58×, 76×)
 1.2 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς (36×, 70×)
 1.3 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱπποτα Νέστωρ (48×, 24×)
 1.4 τὸν δ' αὖ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδ' αὖ (16×, 55×)
 1.5 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε (1×, 12×)
 1.6 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντίνοος προσέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός (1×, 5×)
 1.7 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων (2×, 2×)
 1.8 τὸν δ' αὖτε ψυχὴν προσεφώνεεν Ἀτρεΐδαι (—, 3×)
 1.9 τὴν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρυνόμη ταμὴν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν (1×, 2×)
 1.A1 ἦ δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο διὰ θεάων (—, 7×)

The four expressions that contain a form of the verb ἀμείβεσθαι, 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, and 1.7, are shaped to accommodate names and noun-epithet formulae of different lengths; as I have tried to explain elsewhere,¹⁰ the overlapping caused by the fact that many of the commoner names have noun-epithet formulae of several lengths is to a large extent obviated by habitual usage of one or other of the forms. The names most commonly used with these expressions, those of Odysseus, Zeus, Achilles, and Eumaeus, usually take the form 1.2. The form 1.7 is

¹⁰ "On Some 'Answering' Expressions in Homer," *CP* 64 (1969) 81-87.

generally reserved for those characters who have no formulae of the longer type, or for special effects (as at *Od.* 16.308; 24.243*).

In overall number of occurrences, however, the commonest way to introduce a reply is the form 1.1. Its meaning is perhaps less strongly "answered" than that of the others mentioned, but the expression as given in the lemma, which occurs 42 times in the *Iliad* and 58 in the *Odyssey*, is invariably used to introduce a reply to a previous speaker. (The gross total includes also three cases where $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ is not used [$1 \times Il.$, $2 \times Od.$] and the expressions with $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ mentioned below.) This brings about, in effect, a violation of formulaic economy. It will be seen, however, from the accompanying table (which lists the names occurring with one or more of the forms in this group which end with a noun-epithet formula) that the names occurring a considerable number of times with expressions of this sense favour one form (usually 1.2), whereas those that occur with more than one expression are found only a few times with any of them. In these cases it is hardly surprising that there is no single habitual usage. The exceptional case is that of Athena, found 14 times with 1.1 and 7 with 1.3, and I have not been able to discern any pattern in this variation. The development of formulaic predicates of identical shape and apparently identical meaning, as in 1.1 and 1.3, is like that seen in certain noun-epithet formulae.

The version of 1.1 with $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$, ($15 \times Il.$, $16 \times Od.$) is used to introduce the next speaker in a debate, very often after a verse or two giving the reaction to the previous speaker (e.g. *Il.* 8.28-30). In two instances room is found in the 1.1 form for a second name in the accusative (*Il.* 21.497*, *Od.* 8.334*).

The form 1.6 does not include the $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ version, as these invariably drop the $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ and begin a discourse; they are listed as 3.4 below. There is a violation of economy in the case of 1.5 and 1.6, but the usage differs in that 1.5 occurs with six different names whereas 1.6 in all but one case (*Il.* 17.474) has the name of Antinoös; this may arise from the influence of 3.4, the $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$ version, with which this name is found 5 times. The metrical lengthening required of the names in 1.5 is noteworthy, and has so far as I know not yet been fully explained.¹¹ In one place (*Il.* 20.86*) MSS give the ending $\acute{\alpha}\pi\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\beta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ to a name of the shape of those in 1.5,¹² which easily arises from the parallel

¹¹ It is mentioned by A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam 1965) 137-138.

¹² Some MSS give it at *Od.* 17.405 also.

after 1.1 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε...	after 1.3 τὸν δ' ἡμειβετ' ἔπειτα...	after 1.2 τὸν δ' ἀπ- αμειβόμενος προσέφη...	after 1.7 τὸν δ' ἀπ- αμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε...
Eumaeus —, 3 ×	—, 1 ×	—, 13 ×	—, 1 ×
Achilles 1 ×, —	2 ×, —	12 ×, —	
Agamemnon 5 ×, —	3 ×, —	5 ×, —	
Hector 4 ×, —	2 ×, —	1 ×, —	
Menelaus 1 ×, —	1 ×, 1 ×	—, 4 ×	
Odysseus 2 ×, 6 ×	—, 3 ×	5 ×, 45 ×	
Priam 1 ×, —	5 ×, —	1 ×, —	
Aphrodite 1 ×, —	2 ×, —		
Athena 5 ×, 9 ×	1 ×, 6 ×		
Dolon 1 ×, —	2 ×, —		
Eurycleia —, 8 ×	—, 1 ×		
Hephaestus —, 1 ×	2 ×, 1 ×		
Hera 1 ×, —	6 ×, —		
Hermes 4 ×, 1 ×	—, 1 ×		
Iris 2 ×, —	1 ×, —		
Medon —, 1 ×	—, 1 ×		
Nestor 1 ×, —	3 ×, 8 ×		
Penelope —, 18 ×	—, 4 ×		
Poseidon 1 ×, 1 ×	2 ×, 1 ×		
Thetis 1 ×, —	3 ×, —		
	Ajax 2 ×, —	2 ×, —	
	Diomedes 1 ×, —	2 ×, —	
	Zeus 1 ×, —	8 ×, 6 ×	
Apollo 4 ×, —	Dione 1 ×, —	εἶδωλον ἀμ- Irus —, 1 ×	
Artemis 1 ×, —	Helen 1 ×, —	αυρόν —, 2 × Teucer 1 ×, —	
Melanthius —, 2 ×	πατήρ κατὰ δάκ- νήδυμος ὕπνος 1 ×, —		
Pandarus 2 ×, —	ρυον εἴβων —, 1 × φαίδιμος υἱός —, 1 ×		
Paris 3 ×, —			
Patroclus 1 ×, —			
Philoetius —, 2 ×			
Theoclymenus —, 3 ×			
ἄνῃρ ὃς ἐμίσγετο			
λάθρη —, 1 ×			

Number of occurrences of names found at the verse-end following an answering expression (the first figure refers to the *Iliad*, the second to the *Odyssey*).

phraseology of 4.1, 4.A1 below; the usual expression occurs nearby (*Il.* 20.199).

The expression 1.4 is placed here because the meaning is generally "answered," though there are some exceptions;¹³ the number of occurrences is mainly due to its frequency with the name of Telemachus (43 times). The form 1.8 is used for the specific requirements of the Second Nekyia (cf. 3.8 below); like 1.8, 1.9 also draws its "answering" sense from *αὔτε* and has a parallel form without this adverb (3.6 below).

The short form 1.A1 invariably follows *ὦς ἐφάμην*, and is thus confined to the dialogues in reported speech in the *Odyssey*.

There is an unusual form of 1.4 at *Il.* 23.482*, and a slightly altered form of 1.5, ending *νείκεσέ τ' ἀντην*, at *Od.* 8.158*. In two cases, the form of 1.A1 is lengthened by a nominative name and padding to fill up the whole verse (*Il.* 3.171*, 228*), and a shorter version (from the B caesura) is found at *Il.* 13.823*. There is a different usage of 1.9, with the name in the accusative instead of the nominative, at *Od.* 19.96.

Unique expressions falling within this sense-group are found at *Il.* 1.292*, 4.403*, 23.794*.

2. A ADDRESSED HIM WITH QUALIFICATION

- 2.1 *τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* (69×, 25×)
 2.2 *ἦ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι στᾶσα προσηύδα διὰ θεάων* (6×, 9×)
 2.3 *τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη προσεφώνεε δι' Ἀφροδίτη* (5×, 3×)
 2.4 *τοῖς δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετέειπε συβώτεω πειρητίζων* (—, 4×)
 2.5 *τὸν καὶ λισσόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν* (4×, —)

The forms 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3¹⁴ allow for various lengths of noun-epithet formula and qualifying phrase; there is a wide range of the latter (24 different participles, adjectives, etc. in 2.1 alone). In 2.1 and 2.3 a second name in the accusative may be used in place of a qualifying word; since these are fairly common they have been placed in a special sense-group (9.1, 9.2 below). The form 2.2 may also take a second name or noun in the accusative (at *Il.* 5.454; 22.7; 24.32; *Od.* 6.217), or a genitive name in place of the qualifying word followed by *φαίδιμος υἱός*

¹³ With *αὖ* (or *αὔτε*) the meaning is "answered" except at *Il.* 3.203 and 9 times in the *Odyssey* (1.345, 399; 4.155, 290; 15.179; 16.434; 17.392; 21.320, 343), where the rendering "joined in" would be more apposite because the speaker has not been directly addressed. When *αὖ* is not used the meaning may be "answered" (e.g. *Il.* 23.482) or "began to speak" (e.g. *Il.* 8.200).

¹⁴ On 2.3 see above, n. 10. There is a special effect at *Od.* 24.243*.

at the end of the verse (*Il.* 6.144; 21.97); there is a similar construction with *προσεφώνεε* at *Il.* 21.152. On 2.4 Hoekstra has interesting remarks.¹⁵ The form 2.5 is not very regular; the lemma occurs at *Il.* 24.485, a similar form at *Il.* 24.777, and a second name in the accusative is substituted for the qualifying word at *Il.* 2.156 and 8.426.

A shortened form of 2.2 is found at *Il.* 23.569. The form 2.4 has parallels, but with the name in the accusative, at *Il.* 10.81*, 16.432*, and 18.356*.

Unique expressions for this sense-group are found at *Od.* 15.171 (a lengthened form of 5.B5) and *Il.* 19.286*.

3. A BEGAN TO SPEAK TO THEM

- 3.1 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη (8×, 14×)
 3.2 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς (10×, 1×)
 3.3 τοῖσιν δ' Εὐρύμαχος, Πολύβου πάϊς, ἤρχ' ἀγορεύειν (3×, 5×)
 3.4 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντίνοος μετέφη, Εὐπείθεος υἱός (—, 7×)
 3.5 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀλκίνοος ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν (—, 7×)
 3.6 τὸν καὶ Μηριόνης πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν (4×, 2×)
 3.7 τοῖσι δὲ Τηλέμαχος πεπνυμένος ἄρχετο μύθων (—, 5×)
 3.8 τὸν προτέρη ψυχὴ προσεφώνεε Πηλείωνος (—, 2×)
 3.A1 τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ (8×, 2×)

Expressions in this group characteristically begin a conversation or debate, or introduce a new speaker to it. The forms 3.1 and 3.2 suit noun-epithet formulae of similar length, but the difference of sense is strong enough to avoid violation of economy, for 3.1 is generally used of a gathering of more than two people,¹⁶ 3.2 always of two only. Only one name (Athena) is found with both expressions, and that only once with 3.2 (in its single instance in the *Odyssey*, 3.13).

The forms 3.3 and 3.7 take similarly shaped noun-epithet formulae and are alike in meaning and usage, both being used to introduce a new speaker into a debate which is already in progress. Only one name is common to both expressions (Telemachus twice with 3.7, once with 3.3), and the number of occurrences with any one name never exceeds three, so the violation is not of much importance; MSS sometimes vary between them. Again 3.4 and 3.5 are used in similar circumstances,

¹⁵ Hoekstra (above, n. 11) 39.

¹⁶ There are exceptions, where the expression introduces a tête-à-tête, at *Od.* 5.202; 7.47; 13.374; 17.184; 19.103, 508.

always beginning a conversation with more than two people or resuming after a pause of some kind, but differ in the descriptive epithets at the end of 3.4; not surprisingly, the names used with each differ, 3.4 being used almost exclusively with that of Antinoüs (although — again not surprisingly — there is one exception where this name occurs with 3.5 [*Od.* 4.773]). The verb ἀγορήσατο occurs only in the combination found in 3.5, and μετέειπε in this position always follows either that verb or ἀνίστατο (3 times); the metrical lengthening required of names used in this form is like that in 1.5 above.

The forms 3.2, 3.6, and 3.8 are of course like 1.1, 1.9, and 1.8 respectively, but with πρότερος used instead of αἶτε, and naturally they always begin a conversation or resume after a pause. In the case of 3.6, μετά is used instead of πρὸς (and πρότερος is omitted) at *Il.* 3.303, and the same occurs in a version expanded by epithets to fill a verse and a half (*Il.* 9.622–623*). In both these cases the sense is “he next took up the debate.”

The form given in the lemma of 3.A1 always follows ὡς φάτο and is of course not used at the beginning of a speech. It is included here because a shorter version of the phrase, beginning τὸν δέ and omitting the negative, is used to follow runover words and begin a speech (2 × *Il.*, 1 × *Od.*).

There is an unusual form of 3.4 at *Od.* 18.312*.

4. HE ADDRESSED HIM IN ANSWER

- 4.1 καὶ τότε δὴ μιν ἔπεσιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν (2×, 12×)
 4.2 καὶ μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (3×, 1×)
 4.A1 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπον (—, 22×)
 4.A2 ὁ δέ μ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο νήλεϊ θυμῷ (—, 4×)
 4.A3 ὁ δέ μ' οἰμώξας ἡμείβετο μύθῳ (—, 2×)
 4.B1 ἀμειβόμενος δὲ προσηύδα (2×, —)
 4.H1 καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ (2×, 3×)

The commonest form is 4.A1, which is always found after ὡς ἔφατ' (or the like) in direct-speech parts of the *Odyssey*. The form 4.1 is padded out to give a full verse, and this and 4.2 have the same sense (unless it is thought that there is a special significance about ἔπεα πτερόεντα)¹⁷ and constitute a violation of economy. The form 4.2, however, occurs relatively seldom, and may have been carried over from the much more frequent usage of the phrase in 5.1 and 8.1 below.

¹⁷ Opposed points of view have been stated by Calhoun (above, n. 3) and Parry (above, n. 4).

Three times in the *Odyssey* (2.84; 8.235; 22.44) a name is put first in a verse that ends like 4.1, giving an expression such as *Ἀντίνοος δέ μιν οἶος ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε*, where the adjective saves the expression from overlapping 1.5. In the *Iliad* there are two cases (3.437*; 23.794*) where a name is inserted, in violation of economy, for a special purpose. *Ἀμειβόμενος* is twice replaced by *ἀνειρόμενος* (*Od.* 4.461*; 631*) and once by *καθαπτόμενος* (*Od.* 24.393). In 4.2 the verb *ἀγόρευον* is substituted at *Od.* 9.409, because there the subject is plural and the scene is that of a public meeting; some MSS give *προσηύδων*.

The forms 4.A2 and 4.A3 are interesting because they allow for a qualifying expression as well as the "answering" sense. In 4.A2 there is one case where the qualifying expression at the end is omitted and a new sentence is begun at the C caesura (*Od.* 11.563). The last phrase of 4.A3 is used in three unique expressions (*Od.* 10.71*; 12.278*; 15.485*).

The shorter forms 4.B1 and 4.H1 are neatly used, the former after *ὥς φάτο* and another short sentence, the latter twice to eke out the end of a verse where a noun-epithet formula is needed but is unavailable (*Od.* 15.434* and 439*, where *γυνή εἰκυῖα θεῇσι* [*Il.* 11.638, etc.] is obviously impossible; at *Il.* 24.200, 4.H1 is required to introduce the speech).

5. HE ADDRESSED HIM WITH QUALIFICATION

- | | |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 5.1 | <i>καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα</i> (47×, 55×) |
| 5.2 | <i>ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε</i> (16×, 14×) |
| 5.3 | <i>ὃς σφιν ἐυφρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν</i> (9×, 8×) |
| 5.4 | <i>ὄχθησας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν</i> (10×, 6×) |
| 5.5 | <i>καὶ τότ' ἐγὼν ἀγορὴν θέμενος μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπον</i> (5×, 6×) |
| 5.6 | <i>ἀλλὰ μιν ἄφορρον προσέφην δολίοις ἐπέεσσιν</i> (1×, 3×) |
| 5.7 | <i>καὶ ῥα ἐκάστω φωτὶ παρισταμένη φάτο μῦθον</i> (—, 4×) |
| 5.B1 | <i>καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἤῤα</i> (11×, —) |
| 5.B2 | <i>ἐπευχόμενος δὲ προσηύδα</i> (3×, 6×) |
| 5.B3 | <i>κρατερόν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε</i> (4×, 1×) |
| 5.B4 | <i>ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυνδὸν ἔειπεν</i> (2×, 1×) |
| 5.B5 | <i>καὶ ὀνειδίειον φάτο μῦθον</i> (2×, —) |

In this group there is a wide range of usage of adverbs, in addition to various distinctions in meaning of the verbal expressions.¹⁸ The

¹⁸ On the meaning of *ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε* see Calhoun (above, n. 3) 224–226 and Parry (above, n. 4) 62–63. Perhaps Parry was a little too categorical here; in the *Iliad* the expression is always used between intimates (at *Il.* 15.552 Hector and Melanippus are like brothers, cf. the previous lines), with the

form 5.1 is much like forms in other sense-groups; when the qualifying word is the colourless *φωνήσας* (20× + 30×) the qualification is in effect dropped and the sense becomes that of section 6 below. As in 4.2, *ἀγόρευε* is found as a variant for the verb when the sense is that of a public announcement by one person or a group (there is an exception at *Od.* 4.189, where some MSS read *προσηύδα*).

The form 5.3 is very regular, the lemma being the phrasing used except in two instances; the sense of the verbs is sufficiently different from that of 5.1 to avoid violation of economy. In 5.6, which is in effect a doubly qualified form, there are different phrases at the end of the verse in all its occurrences, and once the common phrase *ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος* is substituted at the beginning (*Il.* 13.768); there is a shorter version (after *ὦς ἔφην*) at *Od.* 10.422.

The form 5.2 is often found as in the lemma (6× *Il.*, 5× *Od.*). Sometimes, however, some other short phrase or sentence is substituted in the first half of the verse; the commonest is a phrase of oddly parallel meaning to the lemma, *χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν* (4× *Il.*, 2× *Od.*). There is a certain amount of exchange of phrases between the two halves of this form and the halves of 5.4 (e.g. *Od.* 7.330; 21.248 — MSS vary in both instances); other phrases occur after the first half of 5.4 at *Il.* 16.513, 19.257, 23.143. The distinction here made between 5.2 and 5.4 is obviously meaningless for anything except purposes of classification.

The form given as 5.5 is again a loose group of expressions based on the verbal phrase running from the H caesura to the end of the verse; often the sense units overrun the B caesura. Sometimes a proper name in the accusative is included.¹⁹ In 5.7 two verses are phrased like the

exception of 3.398 (Helen to Aphrodite), which might just be taken as contemptuous familiarity (*tutoyer*; note that her address to the goddess begins “*δαιμονίη...*” which is elsewhere [21×] used only between husband and wife, equals, and by Odysseus' men to him as they have to stir him into motion [*Od.* 10.472]). In the *Odyssey* the use is less regular but still primarily for intimates (including god to god) or for contempt (with *ἐνένιπε*); there are, however, a few which cannot be explained this way (especially Odysseus' prayer to Zeus, 7.330) — and it may be countered that most speeches are between intimates or gods. Parry is, of course, correct in saying that there is no metrical equivalent and the poet has no choice, but one wonders if some special feeling clung to the expression; it is clearly fossilized to some extent, as *δνόμαζε* is sometimes quite illogical in the context.

¹⁹ Verses grouped here are actually: *Od.* 9.171 (the lemma), 10.188, 12.319 (MSS sometimes give *πᾶσιν* for the penultimate word); *Il.* 14.189, 20.114, 20.292, *Od.* 10.561; *Il.* 15.13, 11.440; *Od.* 14.492; and a form that accommodates *ῆ ῥα*, *Od.* 19.96.

lemma, and two others show a similar use of participle before *φάτο μῦθον* (*Od.* 13.37; 15.171).

The shorter forms also vary considerably. The form 5.B1 is flexible, so far as qualifying words are concerned, but is not found with *ἀμειβόμενος* (though there is no metrical equivalent for this sense). A slightly lengthened form is found at *Il.* 17.119.²⁰ The form 5.B2 is similar in sense and flexibility, and has a slight metrical difference (and change of conjunction); thus it is occasionally useful. Sometimes MSS give the ending *δ' ἔπος ηὔδα*, in violation of digamma (e.g. *Od.* 13.199*).

The form 5.B3 is found three times as in the lemma, and once with the noun *ἀλόχῳ* substituted (*Od.* 23.349*); this verbal expression is found only in this group. The form 5.B4 is found only so; 5.B5 occurs twice only, but is similar to a full-verse form (*Od.* 6.148) which is perhaps to be associated with it.

6. HE ADDRESSED HIM

6.B1	καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν (7×, 9×)
6.B2	ἄφαρ δ' ἡμῖν μετέειπεν (—, 5×)
6.H1	καί μιν προσέειπεν (2×, —)
6.H2	καὶ μῦθον ἔειπεν (—, 2×)
6.H3	εἰθαρ δὲ προσηύδα (2×, —)
6.C1	φώνησέν τε (16×, 7×)
6.C2	εἰπέ τε μῦθον (4×, 3×)
6.C3	καὶ προσέειπε (4×, 2×)
6.C4	ἦδὲ προσηύδα (3×, 2×)

There is no full-verse form, though 5.1 is often used with this sense (see above). The forms 6.B1 and 6.B2 are slightly different metrically. 6.H1, 6.H2, and 6.H3 are a little different in sense and metrically, but in the few contexts where they actually occur these differences do not matter; probably the reason for the three forms is that the expression is so rarely required that no standard form developed.

The form 6.C1 is used after a variety of sentences, including the unique *ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε* in *Od.* 4.370* (the instances covered in 1.5 above are not included here). The form 6.C2 is a violation of economy, as elision does not occur before it; there is a unique phrase at *Il.* 5.600, *εἰπέ τε λαῶ*, probably arising from this. The form 6.C3 is again a violation, and is usually used tautologically after another

²⁰ Hoekstra (p. 66; above, n. 11) comments on this form.

verb.²¹ The form 6.C4 sometimes takes the form ἀλλὰ προσηύδα; but, since the initial vowel is always required by metre, this formula does not violate economy.

There are unique expressions falling within this sense-group at *Il.* 23.491*, *Od.* 21.67*, and *Il.* 5.170*.

7. HE ADDRESSED B WITH QUALIFICATION

- 7.1 καὶ τότε ἔγὼ Κύκλωπα προσηύδων κερτομίοισι (2×, 11×)
 7.2 αἴψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα προσεφώνεεν ἑγγὺς ἔοντα (6×, 5×)
 7.3 ἐκ δὲ καλεσσάμενος προσέφη τροφὸν Εὐρύκλειαν (4×, 3×)
 7.4 ἦδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐγγελάσας μετεφώνεε μνηστήρεσσιν (2×, 4×)
 7.5 ἦ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι στᾶσα φίλον πατέρα προσέειπεν (3×, 2×)
 7.6 αὐτὰρ ὁ μειλιχίοισι προσηύδα ποιμένα λαῶν (2×, 2×)
 7.7 τῷ δ' ὁ γ' ἐρεισάμενος ἔπε' Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα (3×, 1×)
 7.8 Κάλχαντα πρῶτιστα κάκ' ὀσσόμενος προσέειπεν (1×, 3×)

This group is rather confused because of the two varying quantities, noun and qualifying phrase; the verbs are standard and colourless. The commonest form is 7.1, which often occurs in the first person (ἐγὼ is actually included 4 times, at *Od.* 11.552; 12.153, 270; 14.484). There is a wide range of qualifying expressions, because so many are available to fit between the C caesura and the end of the verse; once a new enjambling sentence is begun here (*Od.* 9.492*). Twice in *Od.* 20 (165, 177) αὖτε is included, but the sense is not that of "answered" but "next he spoke to . . ." In two cases (*Il.* 6.343; 22.37) a name in the nominative, plus a padding word, is used instead of the accusative, and once the first half of the verse is padded out entirely with non-significant words (*Od.* 9.363).

The form 7.2 allows for names of slightly different metrical shape from those in 7.1; it takes qualifying phrases of the same metrical shape as 7.1, but shows very little variety—in fact, besides the lemma there are only the two appositional phrases ὃν φίλον υἱόν (2×, 2×) and πιστὸν ἑταῖρον (*Od.* 15.539). In one instance a name in the nominative is used with this form (*Od.* 22.69).

The forms 7.3, 7.4, and 7.6 are alike in placing the qualifying phrase in the first half of the verse and the accusative at the end. A variant form of 7.3 includes an additional name in the nominative (*Od.* 1.156*). For 7.4, there is a verse in which the object is replaced by ἐκ δ' ἐρέοντο

²¹ In *Il.* 18.9 a similar phrase καὶ μοι εἶπε introduces indirect speech; and in *Od.* 13.251–252 there is a further variation, again not introducing direct address.

at *Od.* 10.109, and another of unusual significance at *Od.* 23.182*; two shorter versions, following runover verbs, are found at *Il.* 1.332 and 8.445. The form 7.6 has a variant with nominative name as well as the accusative at *Od.* 18.244*, and a very neat form, with anaphora after the C caesura, at *Il.* 17.431*. The form 7.7 may possibly have some association in the poet's mind with the *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* forms (4.2, 5.1 above).

The form 7.5 has the qualifying phrase in the first half of the verse, like most of those in this group, but places the accusative noun between the B and C caesurae. The qualifying words are once replaced by *ἐταῖρον ἑόν* (*Il.* 11.602), once by a coordinate accusative name (*Il.* 1.320). The form 7.8 includes verses with an accusative in the first half and a qualifying expression between the B and C caesurae; there is an unusual form with additional qualification in the first half (and the subject in the previous verse) at *Od.* 24.393. This form is similar to those with *ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε* (4.1, 4.Α1 above).

8. HE ADDRESSED B

- 8.1 *αὐτίκ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα* (10×, 8×)
 8.2 *αἶψα δὲ Φαιήκεσσι φιληρέτμοισι μετηύδα* (8×, 6×)
 8.3 *αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντα προσέφη Τελαμώνιον υἱόν* (5×, —)
 8.4 *αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Ἑρμείαν υἱὸν φίλον ἀντίον ἦῦδα* (2×, 1×)
 8.5 *ὅς ῥα τότε Τρῳσὶν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἔειπεν* (1×, 1×)
 8.Α1 *καὶ μῦθον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν* (8×, —)
 8.Α2 *καὶ προσέειπεν ἀρηίφιλον Μενέλαον* (1×, 1×)
 8.Β1 *μετὰ δὲ μνηστῆρσιν ἔειπεν* (2×, 5×)
 8.Β2 *Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπεν* (2×, 2×)
 8.Β3 *κασίγνητον δὲ προσηύδα* (4×, —)
 8.Β4 *καὶ ἑὸν προσέειπε συβώτην* (—, 1×)

The forms 8.1, 8.2, and 8.4 vary primarily in terms of length of name or noun-epithet formula. There is a surprising form of 8.1 (with metrical lengthening) at *Od.* 24.494*. Three times in 8.2 a qualifying word is inserted before the name in place of an epithet (*Il.* 1.539; 6.163; 19.120); once a nominative name stands here, giving a two-name expression (*Od.* 24.472*), and once the name stands between the A and B caesurae with a participle placed between the B and C caesurae (*Il.* 17.553). This last form is in turn similar to a unique shortened form found at *Il.* 15.103*.

The form 8.3 is like 3.4 above, where the name is in the nominative. There are only two occurrences of 8.5, and perhaps it should hardly

be classified (*Il.* 10.318; *Od.* 24.213 [which has a nominative name also]); *Il.* 6.75 is similar to these in construction but ends *εἶπε παραστάς* (cf. 9.3 below).

The uses of 8.A1 are entirely confined to *Iliad* 23. In 8.A2 forms like the lemma occur only twice (*Il.* 17.11, *Od.* 18.356), but longer versions of similar phrasing are found at *Od.* 22.480, *Il.* 1.502 (with participle), and *Il.* 22.278 (with additional nominative name); other variants occur at *Il.* 16.432* and 18.356*. Twice the form 8.B1 is used to end a full-verse phrase (*Il.* 22.476, *Od.* 16.336). The forms 8.B2 and 8.B3 differ only in length; in both I have included cases where *καί* is used instead of *δέ*. The form 8.B4 is included as a form only because the verb and object occur in several lines in the same book in addition to the lemma (*Od.* 17.5; also 263, 342). *Od.* 14.36* is not dissimilar.

There is a unique form which falls within this sense-group at *Il.* 24.598*.

9. A ADDRESSED B

- 9.1 *καὶ τότε ἄρ' Ἰδαῖον προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων* (5×, 9×)
 9.2 *αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενεὺς προσεφώνεε Νέστορα δῖον* (1×, 5×)
 9.3 *δὴ τότε Πουλύδαμας θρασὺν Ἑκτορα εἶπε παραστάς* (4×, —)
 9.4 *καὶ τότε ἄρ' Αἴας εἶπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον* (2×, —)
 9.A1 *Ἑκτωρ δὲ μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔειπε* (2×, 1×)

A number of cases have been mentioned in the groups listed above where space has been found in a verse for names (or nouns) in both nominative and accusative (or dative).²² Such expressions are not very common, partly perhaps because of the difficulty of accommodating two names, but mainly (I think) because they are seldom needed; a two-name form implies a rapid change of characters which is unlike the dignified Homeric style. There are a few forms, however, where two names occur so often that it seems worthwhile to group them separately here.

The form 9.1 is a version of 2.1 above, and fairly common; once (*Od.* 1.156*) the nominative and accusative are reversed in position (cf. 7.3 above). The form 9.2 is a little like 1.8 above, and again nominative and accusative are once reversed (*Od.* 8.381*; cf. 2.3 above). The verbal expression in 9.3, the regular phraseology for speech between Hector and Polydamas, occurs rarely; the names of Achilles and Agamemnon are once so used (*Il.* 23.155). The form 9.4 is found only twice, in identical lines, and has no real parallel.

²² In groups 1.1, 2.5, 5.5, 7.3, 7.6, 8.2, 8.5, 8.A2, 8.B4.

The only regular part-verse form is 9.A1, which occurs three times, two of them alike (*Il.* 3.85, 7.66; *Od.* 8.433; in the last case it is followed by indirect speech).

Other forms including one nominative and one accusative name, besides those listed or grouped above, are *Il.* 20.375*, and the very condensed line, with qualifying expression as well as nominative and dative, at *Il.* 24.715*.

II. INTRODUCTIONS WITH VERB OF SPECIFIC SENSE

The following is an alphabetical listing of verbs with a sense stronger than "addressed" or "answered" that occur in some expression repeated at least twice and introducing direct speech without any other verb of address. If the same verb is found in several expressions, they are listed in order of frequency. The numbers of occurrences given are those of expressions resembling the lemma, whether or not there is a direct speech following; the number of those that take a direct speech (if not all) is indicated in the note.

Any similarity with expressions listed in the first part of this paper is identified, but there are few such; in fact the variety of form, as well as of sense, of the expressions discussed here is striking. The absence of commonly repeated expressions for such ideas as "ask" and "pray" is also noticeable.

ἄκουσαν

1. ἀμείλικτον δ' ὅπ' ἄκουσαν (*Il.* 11.137, 21.98)

A striking phrase, identifying the audience with the listener rather than the speaker.

ἄυσεν

1. ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Δαναοῖσι γεγωνώς (6× *Il.*)
A standard verse; *Τρώεσσι* may be substituted.
2. τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσεν Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός (5× *Il.*)

At *Od.* 6.117 the first half of the verse stands alone, without the noun-epithet formula; there is no direct speech.

γέγωνε

1. . . . γέγωνέ τε πάν κατὰ ἄστν (*Il.* 24.703, *Od.* 8.305)

εἶπεσκε, εἶπησι, etc.

1. ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκε . . .

This form is frequent in both poems. The verse begins as in the lemma, or ὥς ἄρα τις, ἄλλος δ' αὖτ', and the verb may be εἶπεσκε (111 × *Il.*, 17 × *Od.*), εἶπησι (4 × *Il.*, 2 × *Od.*), or εἶπη (*Il.* 12.317). The second half of the verse may be a noun-epithet phrase in the genitive plural, or some other expression. Sometimes examples of this form follow direct speech.

ἐνένιπε

1. Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐνένιπεν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν (1 × *Il.*, 5 × *Od.*)
There are also two cases in the *Odyssey* (16.417, 19.90) where the name at the beginning of the verse is in the accusative.
2. τὸν δ' αἰσχρῶς ἐνένιπε Μελανθῶ καλλιπάρηος (2 × *Il.*, 4 × *Od.*)
At *Od.* 19.65 there is a name in the accusative at the beginning and an adverbial phrase replaces the epithet.
3. καὶ μιν ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν χαλεπῶ ἡνίπαπε μύθῳ (3 × *Il.*)

The lemma occurs at *Il.* 2.245, and there is a form with Ἑκτορ(α) at *Il.* 17.141. Also included is *Il.* 5.650, which has a different participial phrase and the shorter adjective which it necessitates, κακῶ. The ending ἡνίπαπε μύθῳ is preceded by various other expressions at *Od.* 20.17*, 20.303*, and *Il.* 3.427.

ἐξείρετο

1. Διὸς δ' ἐξείρετο βουλήν (*Il.* 20.15, *Od.* 13.127)

ἐξερέεινεν

1. πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων (*Il.* 9.672, 10.543)

ἐξήρχε γόοιο

1. Τρωῆσι δ' Ἑκάβη ἀδινοῦ ἐξήρχε γόοιο (6 × *Il.*)

In addition to the substitutions for the proper names, ἀδινοῦ is once replaced by τριτάτη (*Il.* 24.761) and once, in a most interesting verse, by λευκώλενος (*Il.* 24.723*). There is also a shorter form at *Il.* 18.51.

ἐπεύξατο

1. ὁ δ' ἐπεύξατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (4 × *Il.*, 1 × *Od.*)

The example from the *Odyssey* (20.60) is actually lengthened to fill the whole verse. There is a case in the *Iliad* where the noun-epithet formula is replaced by the padding phrase φώνησέν τε because the person in question (Idomeneus) has no suitable formula (*Il.* 13.373*).²³

²³ Bolling's remark on this verse (p. 214; above, n. 5) is not quite accurate,

2. Δηίφοβος δ' ἔκπαγλον ἐπέυξατο μακρὸν αὖσας (4× *Il.*)

(This verb also occurs in the regular phrase ὥς δ' αὖτως *Εὖμαιος* ἐπέυχeto πᾶσι θεοῖσι, which is found three times in the *Odyssey* [plus a shorter form at *Od.* 14.423], but always preceding *indirect* speech.)

ἐρέεινε

1. δεύτερον αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἰδὼν ἐρέειν' ὁ γεραιός (*Il.* 3.191, 225)

In the second instance there is a neat exchange of both adverb and name.

ἐρέοντο

1. ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο

The expression is followed by direct speech at *Od.* 10.63, by an indirect question at *Od.* 10.109, and by another sentence that introduces the speech at *Il.* 9.671. The form οὐδ' ἐρέοντο (*Il.* 1.332, 8.445) is naturally not followed by direct speech.

ἐρήτυον

1. ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι

μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυον ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος (*Od.* 9.492-493, 10.441-442)

εὔχομαι

1. τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὔχετο, χεῖρας ἀνασχών (2× *Il.*)

2. μέγα δ' εὔξατο χεῖρας ἀνασχών (2× *Od.*)

At *Od.* 5.444* there is a variation to introduce a *silent* prayer.

3. . . . εὔχετο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα (*Il.* 15.371, *Od.* 9.527)

4. εὔχετ' ἔπειτα . . . / . . . (*Il.* 16.231-232; 24.306-307)

The two couplets are similar except for the second half of the second verse, which in the second instance includes another speech introduction.

ἡρᾶτο

1. δὴ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἡρᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης (2× *Il.*, 2× *Od.*)

The two *Odyssey* instances begin with ὥς and *follow* the speech.

2. αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἡρᾶτο Διὸς κούρη μεγάλοιο (*Il.* 6.304, *Od.* 6.323)

3. ἡρᾶτο δ' Ἀθήνη (*Il.* 10.277, *Od.* 4.761)

4. πολλὰ δὲ μητρὶ φίλη ἡρῆσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς (*Il.* 1.351, *Od.* 13.355)

since . . . ἐπέυξατο μακρὸν αὖσας is found only after a proper name has preceded, as in the next group here.

(ἐ)κέκλετο

1. Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας (16× *Il.*, 4× *Od.*)

A wide range of substitutions occurs for all parts of the verse except the verb, as can be seen from the Concordances. The structure is similar to that found with ἐπεύξατο (2) above.

2. κέκλετο δ' ἀντιθέοισιν ἐλιξάμενος Λυκίοισιν (3× *Il.*)

The lemma is found at *Il.* 12.408, with direct speech; forms with adverbial expressions substituted at the end of the verse, and without direct speech, occur at *Il.* 12.467 and 22.442. Rather similar, with direct speech, is *Il.* 18.391*.

3. Τρώεσσι δὲ κέκλετ' αὔσας (*Il.* 4.508, 21.307)

There is a full-verse form, with two names, at *Il.* 11.312*.

κέλευσε

1. ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισι κέλευσε (10× *Il.*, 3× *Od.*)

With this verb there are many instances that do not directly introduce a speech. This form takes direct speech at *Il.* 5.463 and *Od.* 6.198 only. It is rather like 8.2 above. The verb form κέλευεν, preceded by a dative (or dative + δέ), is found at the end of the verse nine times in the *Iliad* and four in the *Odyssey*, being followed by direct speech twice in the *Iliad*.

2. Τηλέμαχος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἐπότηρνας ἐκέλευσεν (2× *Il.*, 9× *Od.*)

The expression is followed by direct speech twice in the *Iliad* (14.363, 24.252) and once in the *Odyssey* (15.217).

3. κέλευε δὲ φωτὶ ἐκάστω (*Il.* 20.353; 13.230)

The second reference given is not followed by direct speech.

4. ... πολλὰ κελεύων (*Il.* 5.528; 17.356)

The second reference given is not followed by direct speech.

λίσσομαι

1. Ἄδραστος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐλίσσεται γούνων (*Il.* 6.45)

There are similar expressions, without direct speech, at *Il.* 21.71, *Od.* 10.264.

μυθήσατο

1. κινήσας ῥα κάρη προτὶ δὴν μυθήσατο θυμόν (2× *Il.*, 2× *Od.*)

This invariable expression, introducing a soliloquy, is parallel in meaning to that in 5.4 above. Both occur in close juxtaposition at *Od.* 5.285 and 298.

νείκεε

1. νείκεσεν δ' Ὀδυσῆα χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσιν (3× *Il.*, 2× *Od.*)

Two examples are included (*Il.* 2.277, 15.210) where there is no direct speech. In *Il.* 21.480 the adjective is replaced by *ὀνειδείους*.

2. τὸν δ' Ἐκτωρ νείκεσεν ἰδὼν αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσι (*Il.* 3.38, 6.325)

There is a form with some similarity, and followed by direct speech (after a comment on the result of the words) at *Od.* 17.215*. The same form of the verb, in the same position, is followed by a noun-epithet formula at *Il.* 4.336 and 368, but another verse is used to introduce the direct speech.

3. ἔνθ' αὖ Σαρπηδὼν μάλα νείκεσεν Ἐκτορα δῖον (2× *Il.*)

The lemma occurs at *Il.* 5.471. At *Il.* 21.470 an appositional phrase is found in place of the accusative noun-epithet formula.

4. . . . νείκεσέ τ' ἄντην (*Il.* 10.158, *Od.* 8.158)

ὀνόμηνεν

1. φίλον δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἑταῖρον (4× *Il.*)

At *Il.* 10.522 the expression does not take direct speech.

ὄτρυνε

1. Ἀργείους δ' ὄτρυνε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας (3× *Il.*, 1× *Od.*)

At *Il.* 23.49 and *Od.* 22.241 the expression does not take direct speech.

2. . . . ὄτρυνόν ἑταίρους

μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσι παρασταδὸν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον (3× *Od.*)

3. Ἴριν δ' ὄτρυνε χρυσόπτερον ἀγγελέουσαν (*Il.* 8.398, 11.185)

ᾤμωξεν

1. Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ᾤμωξεν, ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν (*Il.* 3.364, 21.272)

III. COMMENTARY ON ANOMALOUS FORMS

In this section I have commented upon the speech introductions in each book of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* that are worthy of note because they are either:

(a) Unique, by which I mean not merely that the verse does not recur in identical form, but that there is no verse offering a close parallel by substitution of metrically and grammatically equivalent phrases; in most cases this means, in effect, that the verb is in an irregular position in the line; or

(b) Remarkable because of some special feature of expression, an unusual effectiveness in context, or the use of a rare or unique expression when a more common one was available.

Further comment on some general points that emerge is given in the conclusion to this paper.

Iliad 1

There is a unique half-verse expression to begin Calchas' prayer at 15, and another, *καὶ ἡὔδα μάντις ἀμύμων*, at 92 to introduce his revelation; perhaps the brevity is for speed of narration, since Calchas is not the man who matters (elsewhere *ἡὔδα* is always the last word in the verse and preceded by *ἔπος* or *ἀντίον*). A unique construction with *εἶρετο* is used for Thetis' timid request to Zeus (513; cf. *Od.* 9.354). Achilles' final violent speech to Agamemnon is introduced by an "answering" form, *τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλήδην ἡμείβετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς* (292), which looks normal but is in fact unique since the verb does not occur elsewhere in this position; the reason must be desire to include the strange adverb (*hapax leg.* in Homer). A unique couplet introduces a prayer (35–36), and another Achilles' great tirade against Agamemnon after he has reluctantly sheathed his sword (223–224). The similar verses 441 and 585 conclude with the simple phrase *καὶ μιν προσέειπε*, which is found only here; in similar circumstances at *Il.* 23.617 the perhaps slightly more cordial metrical equivalent *καὶ ἔειπε παραστάς* is used.

Iliad 2

A unique phrase (with *νείκεε*) introduces Thersites' speech (224). The phrase introducing Calchas' prophecy (in Odysseus' words) at 322 is used twice elsewhere, but only here with direct speech. Two unique forms, with frequentative verbs, are found as Odysseus rallies the fleeing warriors (189, 199).

There is a dignified phrase for beginning a council at 55, *τοὺς ὃ γε συγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἀρτύνετο βουλὴν*, which recurs only at *Il.* 10.302. At 790–795 is the first of many instances in Homer of a speech introduction followed by a long description of the disguise of the person speaking, then a further introduction as the speech begins.²⁴

Iliad 3

The three different forms for "Helen answered" (171, 199, 228) I have discussed elsewhere.²⁵ The sense "Paris answered" at 437 is conveyed by an unusual form of 4.1 with a nominative inserted, in place of the usual 1.1 (found e.g. at 58). There is what seems an oddly abrupt unique expression as the herald hails Priam, *ὄτρυνεν δὲ γέροντα παριστάμενος ἐπέεσσιν* (249), and a swift introduction (including both names) for Priam's speech to Helen in 161 — hardly abrupt this

²⁴ Bolling (p. 215; above, n. 5) has commented on introductions of this type.

²⁵ See above, n. 10.

time, as we have been watching her beforehand. An easy interchange of words in 191 and 225 expresses Priam's second query (about Odysseus) and his third (about Ajax); the form is found nowhere else. Priam is given a dignified epithet as he announces his departure from the scene of the oath-taking (303). The prayer introduction in 349-350 recurs in *Il.* 17.45-46, but is there without direct speech.

Iliad 4

A unique couplet at 5-6, including the *hapax leg.* παραβλήδην, describes Zeus's purpose as well as introducing his speech. The "answering" expression τὸν δ' υἱὸς Καπανῆος ἀμείψατο κυδαλίμοιο at 403 is unique, and the verb form is *hapax leg.*; one might have expected τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη Καπανῆϊος υἱός (cf. *Il.* 4.367), or τὸν δ' αὖτε Σθένελος ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε (or other possible forms). Perhaps the form in the text was used to bring the name to a more prominent position near the beginning of the verse — the previous speech was directed to Diomedes, who does not answer. Unique forms, with frequentative verbs, occur at 233 and 241, as Agamemnon goes around exhorting his troops. At 176 ἐρέει is used in the same way as εἵπεσκε (see in part II above). There is a rapid transition to direct speech after ἀνῶγει at 301-302, showing that no speech word was found necessary; and conversely, 337 and 369 are conspicuously unnecessary.

Iliad 5

Unique forms, without any very clear effect, are found at 170 (where καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν would have done, with change of αὐτοῖο to αὐτοῦ) and 600 (a variation for 6.C2). The phrasing at 528, ἐφοίτα πολλὰ κελεύων, is used only here with direct speech; there is special emphasis as Agamemnon moves among his forces. An abrupt transition to direct speech occurs at 358, after the plain statement "she asked to borrow his horses."

Iliad 6

At 479 is an easy and effective half-verse introduction to a half-verse speech, and at 75-76 an introduction to three new characters at once, the first speaker receiving a complimentary phrase in addition. Otherwise the only expression of interest is the simple but unique introduction for Hector's prayer at 475 (*Iliad* 19.286 is the nearest parallel).

Iliad 7

At 94 is a normal speech introduction, followed in the next verse by a brief description of how the speaker felt and what he was going to say. No other verse is of special interest.

Iliad 8

Zeus's pronouncement to the assembled gods is given a unique verse to introduce it: αὐτὸς δέ σφ' ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον (4; the second half has parallels at *Il.* 1.533, 22.166, etc.). In line 92 the following speech seems to depend on ἐβόησε rather than on ἐποτρύνων, in which case it is a unique usage of this verb. The future tense φήσει introduces direct speech only at 148 here, and in fact the only other occurrence of this tense, with a different significance, is in verse 153 of this book. Another unique form is used for Iris' delivery of Zeus's ultimatum to Hera and Athena (with ἔννεπε; 412). Between 492 and 496 we see the Trojans dismount to listen to Hector, then there follow two separate introductions of his oration interrupted by a description of his appearance as he stood leaning on his lance; this is a fine prelude for his triumphant address.

Iliad 9

There is a unique expression for a toast at 224, and at 252-253 a unique couplet (with ἐπετέλλετο) for Phoenix' description of what Peleus told his son, including πατήρ and a significant time reference. An effective expression at 622-623 reminds us of Ajax (with all his titles) as he interrupts Achilles' polite dismissal of the envoys. A normal expression at 432 is nicely followed by another verse telling us of Phoenix' emotion and its cause. In this book the unique forms are in no way odd but are carefully constructed for maximum effect.

Iliad 10

New phrasing at 476 is used to express, in one highly condensed verse, "Odysseus looked ahead and saw him, and pointed him out to Diomedes with the words..." The verb δεῖξεν is not so used elsewhere. Almost as powerful is the combination of words at 158 as Nestor unceremoniously rouses Diomedes. Unique, but hardly surprising, are the expressions for a question (81) and an oath (328). In 390 an "answering" verse (1.3 in form) substitutes a new and complete sentence after Dolon's name in place of the usual epithet (*Εὐμήδεος νείος*), thus giving an unorthodox means of bringing in further descriptive material.

Iliad 11

The most unusual construction in this book is the substitution of the participle *βεβλημένος* for the usual *πεπνυμένος* in a normal 1.1 answering verse at 822; the more expressive word has been used shortly before in a similar construction (809) and is effective here. Some MSS give the usual form. There is a unique introduction for a prayer at 130 (with *γουνάζεσθην*), and a unique construction with *κέκλετο*, including both nominative and dative names, at 312; both persons need to be mentioned, and in the dangerous situation there is no time to be lost. At 785 there is a transition to direct speech after *ἐπέτελλε*, as at *Il.* 9.252–253* above.

Iliad 12

There is a neat, very “literary” couplet, with *νείκεον* following epanalepsis of *ἄλλον / ἄλλον*, as the Ajaxes rally the Greeks (267–268). At 342 there is a very fast move into direct speech after *προῖει κήρυκα*; one would have expected another verse, but Menestheus sees disaster ahead and is in a terrible hurry. There are few speeches in this book.

Iliad 13

A unique form is used for Ajax’ challenge to Hector (with *προκαλέσσατο*; 809), and another — simple, but never used elsewhere — for Hector’s swift answer as the Greeks roar approval: *ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ* (823). At 373 the padding phrase *φώνησέν τε* is inserted into the *ἐπέύξατο* (1) expression, as Idomeneus’ name will not fit here. There are many instances of 1.4 in this book, because of the prominent part played by Idomeneus and Meriones.

Iliad 14

Poseidon’s encouragement to the Greeks is introduced by a unique expression with *ἐκέλευσεν* (363), and there is a unique form, with *ἐγέγωνε* and both nominative and dative names, for Ajax’ revengeful cry to Polydamas as he kills a Trojan to avenge the other’s Greek victim (469). A unique couplet introduces the secret words of Hera to Athena (188–189).

Iliad 15

There are a number of new and expressive forms in this book. At 13, the unusually strong qualification *δεῖνα δ’ ὑπόδρα ἰδών* makes clear how furious Zeus is with Hera (the only parallel is at *Hom. Hymn* 7.48). A unique short phrase, *πᾶσιν δὲ νεμεσσηθεῖσα μετηύδα*, intro-

duces Hera's ill-tempered attack on Ares (103), and another, ἡ δ' ἐπέεσσιν καθάπτετο θοῦρον "Αρηα, sharply leads up to Athena's words as she replaces his weapons and speaks her mind (127). An unusual number of speech introductions embraces our introduction to Melanippus, as Hector rebukes him (545-552); and this is followed by two similar forms with both nominative and accusative names (with ὄτρυνε) as the Greeks rally in their turn (560, 568). There is also a vigorous direct command after κέλευε at 732, and the unique simile, giving us a man's thoughts, after νοήσῃ (80-81).

Iliad 16

Achilles' repetition of the critical comments made about him is introduced by a unique form (with ἡτιάασθε; 202), and so is Hector's quotation of what he thinks were Achilles' instructions to Patroclus (with ἐπετέλλετο; 838). There is a unique use of ἐνένιπε at 626, though the construction is easy enough, and a natural variation of 2.4, with padder substantives, at 432 (this seems to be the normal accusative form for Hera, cf. *Il.* 18.356). The form of 9.1 given in the text at 666 is perfectly normal, but Zenodotus for some reason preferred the unparalleled reading καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐξ "Ιδης προσέφη Ζεὺς ὃν φίλον υἷόν.

Iliad 17

There is an interesting contrast between the speech introductions in 414 and 420; in the first the usual εἵπεσκε form is used, but in the second the Trojans have no suitable noun-epithet formula in the genitive plural to match 'Αχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, and so the phrasing has to be reshaped and αἰδήσασκεν substituted for the verb; this verb form is unique in this position. A unique form in 334, μέγα δ' "Εκτορα εἶπε βοήσας, introduces Aeneas' shout to Hector as he realizes he has received direct information from Apollo; the substitution of παραστάς (some MSS) would be more usual but less effective. There is a straightforward but highly compressed expression at 119, as Menelaus reluctantly turns to run, then holds his place and calls to Ajax instead; and a complex triple epanalepsis in the couplet 430-431, based on 7.6 but here without direct (or indirect) speech to follow. At 668 is a unique, but simple, phrase with ἐπέτελλεν.

Iliad 18

Antilochus' terrible message at 17 is introduced by a unique phrase, φάτο δ' ἀγγελίην ἀλεγεινήν, to which there is only a remote parallel (without direct speech) at *Il.* 2.787. A sudden change of scene to

Olympus at 356 is matched by the abruptness of the introduction of both Zeus and Hera in that line, which has a much easier parallel at *Il.* 16.432. At 391 is a unique, but easy, expression with *κέκλετο*, ending *εἶπε τε μῦθον*. Two speech introductions at 316 and 323 enclose a descriptive phrase and a fairly long simile, giving a vivid picture of Achilles as he begins the first lament over the body of Patroclus; a similar kind of construction describes the qualities of Polydamas at 249–253; for, although he is well enough known by this time, what he has to say here has unusual importance.

Iliad 19

Briseis' only speech is introduced by the expression *εἶπε δ' ἄρα κλαίουσα γυνή εἰκυῖα θεῆσι* (286), to the first half of which there is only a rough parallel at *Il.* 6.475; the noun-epithet formula is used elsewhere only for Nestor's handmaid (*Il.* 11.638). An interesting line at 304 contains a request in indirect speech in the first half of the verse (*λίσσόμενοι δειπνήσαι*) which is refused in the second half (*δ' ἡρνεῖτο στεναχίζων*), after which his actual words follow without further introduction. At 404 the standard phraseology is flexible enough to accommodate the utterance of the horse, complete with noun-epithet formula (a regular form of 2.1), and a variation on 8.2 (at 120) well shows Hera's triumph in announcing her successful trick to her husband.

Iliad 20

Hector's response to Achilles' rallying call to the Greeks is introduced by the phrase *κέκλεθ' ὁμοκλήσας*, which is then followed by *φάτο* + infinitive explaining what he is going to say before the direct speech actually begins (364–365); the effect does not seem particularly significant. In 375, *καὶ τότε ἄρ' Ἑκτορα εἶπε παραστὰς Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων*, the verb and participle are uniquely placed in the middle of the verse; the two names are required to return us from the general battle to a particular episode. At 86 a 1.5 expression is given an ending developed from the 4.1 form (*ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε* in place of *ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε*), though the usual form occurs here at 199; one is tempted to consider it an error in the tradition.

Iliad 21

There is a unique expression (with the unique verb form *φθέγγατο*) for the words of the river-god at 213; another (with *ἀνείρετο*) for Zeus's amused question to Artemis at 508; and a third (with the unique form *ἄυτει*) for Agenor's courageous challenge to Achilles at

582. A rather sudden transition to direct speech occurs after *ὀτρύνων* at 530, as Priam encourages his men from the wall. Line 497 inserts a second short name into a 1.1 expression, for an abrupt change of scene to another abortive duel. A brilliant phrase at 98 (mentioned above under *ἄκουσαν*) continues our identification with the feelings of the listener, rather than the impassive speaker.

Iliad 22

A long, effective buildup, with a number of verbs and descriptive phrases, leads in to Priam's prayer to Hector (33-37), and a unique couplet expresses his agony of mind at 414-415. A unique but simple two-name form is required at 278 because of a rapid exchange between the three participants in the scene that has taken place within the previous couplet; nowhere else does a verse begin with a nominative followed directly by *προσέειπεν*. The participle *ἐνίσσων* introduces the sorrows of Astyanax at 497; this use is found again only in *Il.* 24.238.

Iliad 23

There is a unique combination of *ἡρνεῖτο* and *ὄμοσεν* in 42, leading into direct speech, and a couplet (including both nominative and accusative names) at 541-542 ending in the unique expression *ἡμεῖψατ' ἀναστάς*. At 855 is the oddest speech introduction in Homer, where the phrase *ἦς ἄρ' ἀνώγει / τοξεύειν* runs over the end of the verse and the direct speech begins at the A caesura. Another unique couplet, conveying a good deal of information, introduces Nestor's advice to Antilochus (304-305). A variant of 1.4 (482) inserts the participle *χολωσάμενος* in place of the usual name, and the epithet *Κρητῶν ἀγός* remains as subject; *τὸν δὲ χολωσάμενος προσέφη σθένης Ἴδομενῆος* would have been more regular, cf. *Il.* 13.248. The text reading at 491, *καὶ φάτο μῦθον*, recurs only at *Od.* 21.67, and the reading given by one MS, *καὶ μετέειπε*, would be more regular; another MS variant, *καὶ κατέρυκε*, appears in this book at 734. The phrase *καὶ ἔειπε παραστάς* at 617 is unique. Line 794, *τὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν*, is an interesting violation of economy for the idea "Achilles answered"; the phrasing (a variant of 4.1) is found with Paris' name at *Il.* 3.437* (likewise a violation of economy) and is perhaps used here to bring the speaker's name into greater prominence at the beginning of the verse, as the previous verses have aroused some expectancy. It should be pointed out that all eight examples of the form 8.A1 occur in this book.

Iliad 24

There are two unique short expressions with Priam's name, arising perhaps because of difficulties in handling its unusual anapaestic shape: *ποτὶ δὲ Πρίαμον φάτο φώνησέν τε* (353) and *ποτὶ δὲ Πρίαμον φάτο μῦθον* (598). He is also the unexpressed subject of another unique construction at 715, *εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἐκ δίφροιο γέρων λαοῖσι μετηύδα*. A verse with *ὄτρυνε* in a different position from usual accommodates the names of Zeus and Iris and a change of scene (143). Line 723, *τῇσιν δ' Ἀνδρομάχῃ λευκώλενος ἦρχε γόοιο*, is a most interesting case: the epithet has been inserted after Andromache's name in place of the usual *ἄδινού*, and the prefix *ἐξ-* has also had to be dropped from the verb (the usual phraseology is found at 747 etc.); since the following verse describes how she is cradling Hector's head in her arms, it is impossible not to feel that the usually formulaic epithet has here a vivid descriptive force.

Odyssey 1

An easy, but unique, two-name speech introduction at 156 leads attention away from the main scene in the hall to the two shocked observers in the corner. This is also the only example of the accusative case of this noun-epithet formula for Athena.

Odyssey 2

Not unique in phrase, but interesting as examples of the poet's general style, are the long introduction of the Chairman of the Council before he speaks (15-24) and of Telemachus himself as he addresses his first public meeting (35-39). There are several similar introductions of the Ithacans, whom we cannot be expected to know. There is an odd couplet to introduce a prayer at 260-261, where two participial phrases describing various actions intervene between the subject and the verb, which is a unique form: *εὐχεται Ἀθήνη*; cf. *ἡρᾶτο* (3). At 348 is the only instance of Telemachus' name used in a 1.6 type of sentence, in order to insert the additional information *θάλαμόνδε καλέσας*.

Odyssey 3

There is unique prayer introduction at 54.

Odyssey 4

The most interesting lines in the book are the two cases (461, 631) where *ἀμειβόμενος* in a 4.1 type of expression is replaced by *ἀνειρόμενος*, providing a regular question introduction which is otherwise lacking

in the formulaic structure; the only occurrences of this phrasing elsewhere are in the *Hom. Hymn to Apollo* 3.50 and 525, which have ἀνειρόμενος in a different position in the verse. This may be a new development, and fulfils a useful function in a simple way. There is also a unique question expression for “she asked for full details” at 137. At 370 the speech is introduced by the odd phrase ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε, which seems to be the only way out of the difficulty the poet has gotten himself into in the first half of the verse; a more normal alternative would be ἄγχου δ’ ἵσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα. Another oddity occurs at 234, where Helen “answers” to nothing, but is restarting a dropped conversation; perhaps the meaning is something like “she took up the conversation,” but one wonders why the poet did not choose to end the verse with the simple προσηύδα δῖα γυναικῶν.

Odyssey 5

The book begins with an exceptional couplet (5–6) for Athena’s reintroduction of the topic of Odysseus, telling us why she is worried about him and what she is going to say; the verb used is λέγε, which only here takes direct speech in Homer. A two-name expression with ἐρέεινε (85) returns us from the lonely Odysseus to Calypso and Hermes. Odysseus will be very much alone for some time now, and as a result there are two different types of introduction to a soliloquy, juxtaposed at 285 (= 376) and 298; there is also a short introduction to a *silent* prayer at 444.

Odyssey 6

A further soliloquy introduction appears at 118; this expression, in various forms, more usually *follows* direct speech (e.g. *Od.* 5.365, 424). Odysseus’ first speech to Nausicaa is explicitly and accurately described in the unique expression at 148 — αὐτίκα μείλιχον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον.

Odyssey 7

There are unique forms at 21 (a question, with ἀνείρετο); at 145 (a prayer, with λιτάνευεν); and at 341, with ὄτρυνον. At 330 a prayer introduction somewhat unexpectedly ends with the usually informal phrase ἔπος τ’ ἔφατ’ ἔκ τ’ ὀνόμαζε (see above, n. 18).

Odyssey 8

The usual ending of 1.5, φώνησέν τε, is replaced by νείκεσέ τ’ ἄντην at 158, to introduce the scornful remarks of Euryalus the Phaeacian.

At 381 the ending *προσεφώνεε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς* is substituted for the regular *προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς*. The only explanation for this I can suggest (other than error in the text) is that the poet did not wish to use *πολύμητις* of Odysseus so shortly before Antinoüs so cordially praises his good sense in 388 (*ὁ ξείνος μάλα μοι δοκείει πεπνυμένος εἶναι*), which necessitates the assumption that the usual epithet had some derogatory connotation; this will, I imagine, seem fanciful to many. There is a similar use of *προσεφώνεε*, even more difficult to find an explanation for, at *Od.* 14.401. Between 334 and 357 there is much rapid conversational exchange, verging on stichomythia, carried on by means of the usual address formulae. There are also an unusually large number of speech introductions including two names in this book, because the participation of many different people in one scene necessitates frequent introduction of two characters (381, 423, 474, 486; and amongst the gods, 334).

Odyssey 9

There are unique question introductions at 251 (with *εἶρετο*) and 354 (with *ἦτεε*; the expression at *Il.* 1.513 is virtually identical, but there uses *εἶρετο* and is one mora longer). At 402 another interesting question introduction combines indirect and direct speech: "They asked him what was the matter; 'Why all this noise, Polyphemos?' [they said] '...'" And at 492-493 there is an even neater example of the flexibility of the poet's technique, as the address verse introducing Odysseus' taunt to the Cyclops, which could have been completed with (e.g.) *κερτομίοισι*, as it is at 474, is broken off at the C caesura by the interrupting speech introduction of the words of his men (= *Od.* 10.441-442), just as his own cry was cut short by them. The change to first-person narration in this and other books makes little difference except in the increased proportion of address verses beginning *ὥς ἐφάμην*, to remind us that this is all Odysseus' story. Most verbs can be adapted to the first person without metrical change.

Odyssey 10

There are unique expressions at 71, *πατὴρ δ' ἡμείβετο μύθῳ*, in order to mention the silence of the sons in the first part of the verse, and 471, where Odysseus' companions for once take the initiative and rouse him from his pleasant life with Circe. At 250 is a verse expressing what Eurylochus is going to say ("Disaster!") before he goes on to say it. As Odysseus wakes his companions with good news (172-173) the gentler verb *ἀνέγειρα* is used instead of the *ὄτρυνον* which occurs with

the same phrasing at 546–547 here (and *Od.* 12.206–207). Perhaps also worthy of mention is 67, where the longer verb *μετεφώνεον* is used to lead up to the qualifying phrase *ἄχνύμενος κῆρ*, which is more important here than usual; a longer qualifying phrase fits after the shorter verb *προσέφην* at 422. There are a great number of speeches in this book, many of them introduced by verbs of specific sense.

Odyssey 11

As usual in these books in first-person narration, there are a number of forms after *ὡς ἔφατ'*, *ὡς ἐφάμην*, but no other points of special interest.

Odyssey 12

There is naturally a unique phrase to introduce the song of the Sirens at 183. Other unusual forms introduce the unwise plan of Eurylochus (339) and Odysseus' heartbroken groan to the gods as he discovers the outcome of it (370). A variant "answering" phrase at 278 incorporates a qualifying word as well, to express the gruffness of Eurylochus' reply to his master: *στυγερῶ μ' ἡμείβετο μύθῳ*.

Odyssey 13

At 36–37 there is a conjunction of two speech introductions, which is not tautological, since the first addresses Odysseus' speech to the Phaeacians at large and the second directs it especially to Alcinous; I have not noticed any parallel to this. A nice usage at 253–255 gives first a normal introduction, then a couplet to warn us that the speaker is lying. The MSS vary at 199 between *ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ηὔδα* and *... δὲ προσηύδα*, as they also do at *Il.* 15.114 = 398. The violation of digamma in the first form (which is printed in the OCT) is perhaps not important, and the second would perhaps be awkward here (though not in *Il.* 15) because Odysseus is alone and *προσηύδα* normally implies a second party; perhaps this is the reason for the creation (after neglect of digamma became possible) of the first form.

Odyssey 14

I have tried to account elsewhere²⁶ for the three versions of "Eumaeus answered" (55, 121, 401). The brief, unique expression at 36, *ὁ δὲ προσέειπεν ἄνακτα*, seems heavily loaded with significance — it is Eumaeus' first meeting with his disguised master, as he rescues him from the dogs — but there is no alternative available without expanding

²⁶ See above, n. 10.

the sense considerably; one must reserve judgment about the precise import.

Odyssey 15

The three different forms for "Odysseus answered" (340, 380, 485) I have tried to explain elsewhere.²⁷ A nice touch is found at 62-63, where the departing Telemachus is dressed, given a compliment (ἤρως), addresses Menelaus from the doorway, and receives a quite unnecessary full-verse noun-epithet formula to do him honour. Hoekstra has drawn attention to the odd use of δεδισκόμενος δὲ προσηύδα at 150, where the first syllable of the participle is irregularly shortened and no libation is actually poured.²⁸ A speech is introduced at 304, in a regular form (2.4), and a couplet follows explaining the purpose of it before it actually begins. A strangely abrupt transition to direct speech is found at 424, where the maidservant points out the house (ἐπέφραδε) and her words follow immediately; an identical verse occurs at *Od.* 10.111 without direct speech. There are two examples of a regular address verse (1.1), which normally ends with a noun-epithet formula, padded out by other means to fill up the verse when no such formula is available; 430 has the ending ἀνὴρ ὃς ἐμίσγετο λάθρη, 434 (and the similar 439) γυνὴ καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ. The usual description for handmaidens, εἰκυῖα θεῇσι, is obviously not desirable here, and the poet is careful to avoid it.

Odyssey 16

A unique form at 166, τὸν δὲ προσέειπεν Ἀθήνη, is perhaps most surprising because of its uniqueness; perhaps rather more flourish is usually desired, but this is a secret conversation between the two. At 336 and 338 two condensed and rather odd expressions, the second followed by indirect speech, stand antithetically opposed by μὲν and δέ, a peculiarity to which Hoekstra drew attention.²⁹ On 308 see the note on *Od.* 24.243*.

Odyssey 17

In this book there are three expressions, of different lengths, ending in the phrase προσέειπε συμβώτην (5, 263, 342); this does not occur elsewhere. There is also a unique ending νείκεσσε συμβώτην at 374. The question introduction at 305 (with ἐρεῖνετο) is also unparalleled. A

²⁷ See above, n. 10.

²⁸ Hoekstra (above, n. 11) 117.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

strange couplet introduces Melantheus' abusive remarks at 215–216; it begins with a phrase rather like *νείκεε* (2), then ends the verse with *ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε*, which is qualified (uniquely) by two adjectives in the next verse; there is then a comment on the effect of the speech on Odysseus. This seems highly sophisticated handling of the formulaic phrases. An odd, but perhaps not surprising, violation of economy occurs at 405, where a 1.5 expression which should end *ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε* (as at 445) substitutes *ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέειπε*. The same thing happens at *Il.* 20.86; in that instance there is no MSS variant, but here perhaps the more usual reading, given in several MSS, should be inserted. At 172 the name of Medon is followed by a new clause explaining his popularity, instead of the usual *πεπνυμένα εἰδώς*; the same thing happens (without direct speech) at *Od.* 4.677 = 16.412, and for Dolon at *Il.* 10.390.

Odyssey 18

A two-name expression at 244 (a variation of 7.6) is particularly good for the abruptness with which Eurymachus breaks in on the conversation between Penelope and Telemachus; Fitzgerald well translates "Now, interrupting, Eurymachus called out to her."³⁰ There is also an evocative unique phrase at 258 as Penelope describes how Odysseus, at his departure, took her hand and spoke to her. At 312 a variation of 1.2, *αὐτὸς διογενὴς μετέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς*, brings in two significant adjectives at the beginning of the line as Odysseus gives orders to the maidservants, and a little later the sharp answer of Melanthe is stressed by repeated uses of *ἐνέειπε* in different expressions (321, 326).

Odyssey 19

This is a rather long book but has only one basic scene and few participants. As a result the numerous speeches are introduced by perfectly standard and regular expressions.

Odyssey 20

The verse-ending *ἡνίπαπε μύθῳ* is used at 17 and 303 without the usual preceding adjective in agreement with the noun; cf. *ἐνέειπε* (3). In the first instance Odysseus is addressing himself, and *κραδίην* is inserted to make this clear; in the second there is a two-name form (Telemachus is swiftly upbraiding Ctesippus for throwing the cow's hoof at his father), and there is no room for an adjective. A unique phrase (with *ἔπος φάτο*) at 111 introduces the weary servant's prayer

³⁰ *Homer: The Odyssey*, tr. R. Fitzgerald (New York 1961).

and informs us her words are a portent for Odysseus (the nearest parallel is *Od.* 4.370), and there is a unique question form (with *ἐρέεινε*) at 190.

Odyssey 21

There are unique, but easy and natural, introductions at 175 (*ἐκέλευσε*) and 368 (*ἐγεγώνει*). At 67 the ending *καὶ φάτο μύθον* is unexpected; *εἰπέ τε μύθον*, or some padding expression such as *δῖα γυναικῶν*, would have been more normal.

Odyssey 22

There are two examples (at 131 and 247) of a speech introduction where the name of Agelaus is put early in the verse and the phrase is concluded with *ἔπος πάντεσσι πιφάύσκων*, which does not occur elsewhere (though *Il.* 10.202 is fairly close). In both instances Agelaus enters the scene abruptly, and perhaps this is why the name is placed early in the verse, rather than from any special desire to use the qualifying phrase; *τοῖς δ' αὖτε μετέειπε Δαμαστορίδης Ἀγέλαος* (cf. *Od.* 20.321) would have done. Hoekstra has commented on the line.³¹

Odyssey 23

Twice, perhaps with significant effect, the word *ἄλοχον* is brought in for Penelope as she is addressed by her restored husband (182, 349); in the first instance the description *κεδνὰ ἰδυῖαν* is included — she is being *very* clever just here. There is also a nice phrase at 208, where her action in tearfully embracing her husband receives all the stress and the speech introduction is reduced to *ἦδὲ προσήυδα*; there is no time for a longer phrase here.

Odyssey 24

The five instances of 1.8 and 3.8, for “then said the shade of . . .” (23, 35, 105, 120, 191), mark a contrast with the First Nekyia, where the words of Odysseus’ interlocutors are introduced by the usual formulae without the word *ψυχή*. An interesting variation of 2.3 (at 243) is unique for Odysseus, referring to him as *φαίδιμος υἱός*, in order to stress his relationship with Laertes; at *Od.* 16.308 the same thing is done for Telemachus at the end of his first conversation with his father. A similar touch is seen at 280, where *πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων* is used for Laertes (in a 1.3 expression) instead of the usual form with his name (1.5, as at line 327 here). At 494 is a rather odd example of

³¹ Hoekstra (above, n. 11) 39.

8.1, involving metrical lengthening of the last syllable of Ὀδυσσῆα; other expressions would have been possible (e.g. αἶψα δὲ δὴ προσέειπεν Ὀδυσσῆα πτολίπορθον). An easy two-name form moves the scene to Olympus for the swift operations of Zeus and Athena before the situation in Ithaca gets out of hand (472), and Athena's call for restraint by all parties is introduced by a unique couplet which includes her title and the purpose of her remarks (529-530).

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken partly to discover if the more strongly expressive phrases, those with some adverbial or participial qualification or a verb of some distinct significance, occurred more frequently in certain parts of the poems. No appreciable result was achieved here; as might be expected, the parts of the poems where emotional tension is at its peak draw their effectiveness not from colourful language but from the setting and content of the speeches, which are introduced by the most regular and familiar of verses (e.g. in *Iliad* 6, *Odyssey* 19). It is the anomalous expressions that are the most interesting, those which seem to be created not for metrical necessity — for the regular forms cover most eventualities — but in order to insert some comment about the purpose or content of the following speech, or to begin the speech without the usual stately introductory formula, or to use some word that does not normally occur in such a context. As can be seen from the Commentary in part III above, these sometimes tend to be found more often in certain scenes.

The formulaic system itself maintains the principle of economy to a certain extent, though there is a fair amount of overlapping in the commonest group of expressions, "A addressed him in answer." Here, however, the names that most frequently occur tend to keep to one form of expression. The system covers most of the possible permutations in sense and in length, sometimes by means of pleonastic words or phrases; the simple "he addressed him," for instance, uses φωνήσας in a position often filled by a more significant word. There are also certain identifiable habits of expression, by which certain forms that are metrically and logically possible are never actually used. The system is perhaps wider-ranging than that of the noun-epithet formulae that end the verse, but of the same type.

The system does not, however, cover very fully the senses "asked" or "prayed." For the first, it will be seen from the listing of verbs with specific sense that a number of verb forms from the basic root

are used, none of them very frequently; and there are two verses in *Od.* 4 (431* and 461*) that adapt a normal address formula (4.1) to introduce a question. A large number of unique question forms are mentioned in the Commentary. Again, the various expressions for "prayed," though some of them occur up to four times, are not nearly so standardized as, for instance, the formula for resumption *after* a prayer, ὥς ἔφατ' ἐὺχόμενος . . ., which is found twelve times in the *Iliad* and five in the *Odyssey*.

It should also be emphasised, as is often pointed out in the Commentary, that the speech formulae are not always essential and that not infrequently the narrative passes into direct speech after a verb of ordering, informing, sending a message, or the like without any more formal indication of the transition. Sometimes too the introduction includes a comment on what the speaker is going to say, or his purpose in saying it, or its effect on the hearer. Such flexibility seems to indicate a considerable level of sophistication in the poet's audience, as well as in his technique.

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HERA'S ANVILS

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οὐ μὰν οἶδ' εἰ αὖτε κακορραφίης ἀλεγεινῆς
 πρώτη ἐπαύρηαι καί σε πληγῇσιν ἰμάσσω.
 ἦ οὐ μέμνη ὅτε τ' ἐκρέμω ὑψόθεν, ἐκ δὲ ποδοῦν
 ἄκμονας ἤκα δύω, περὶ χερσὶ δὲ δεσμὸν ἔηλα
 χρύσειον ἄρρηκτον; σὺ δ' ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν
 ἐκρέμω· ἡλάστεον δὲ θεοὶ κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,
 λῦσαι δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο παρασταδόν· ὃν δὲ λάβοιμι
 ῥίπτασκον τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ, ὅφρ' ἂν ἴκηται
 γῆν ὀλιγηπελέων· ἐμὲ δ' οὐδ' ὥς θυμὸν ἀνίει
 ἀζιχῆς ὀδύνη Ἑρακλῆος θείοιο,
 τὸν σὺ ξὺν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ πεπιθοῦσα θυέλλας
 πέμψας ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον πόντον, κακὰ μητιόωσα,
 καί μιν ἔπειτα Κόωνδ' εὖ ναιομένην ἀπένεικας.

(*Iliad* 15.16-28)

This passage, known as the *κόλασις Ἑρας*, troubled the ancient critics. Zenodotus expunged it (vv. 18-31) altogether, and the scholiast of A wrote: "It is a question why Zeus mistreats Hera so disgracefully on account of the mortal Heracles." He then proceeds to give an allegorical interpretation of the kind reputedly begun by Theagenes of Rhegium and continued by the Stoics: Zeus is the aether, or fiery upper air, Hera the middle air, the two anvils are earth and water, and the chain brings moisture down from the air and binds all the elements together. Thus the whole symbolizes the stability of the universe. Porphyry gives much the same explanation but interprets the chain as the heavenly fire; and he connects the passage, rightly, with *Iliad* 1.590, where Hephaestus is thrown out of Heaven for having tried to rescue Hera from Zeus. The repetition of *τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ* here (23; cf. 1.591) makes it virtually certain that the two incidents are the same. The fall of Hephaestus "into the sea"¹ represents the changing of the elements

¹ Homer says that he fell on Lemnos. The scholiast has confused this passage with 18.394ff, where Hephaestus recalls how he was cast down by his mother, on which occasion he seems to have landed in the sea, since he was rescued by Thetis and Eurynome. The relationship of these two falls is not very clear (see n. 5).

into each other, so that for Porphyry the passage stands for the cosmic process, *κοσμικὴ φύσις*, rather than for the stability of the elements. Finally Heraclitus offers a long genesis allegory. The four elements are the same: Zeus–Aether, Hera–Air, the anvils earth and water; the unbreakable chain represents the indissoluble union of the elements. But “why,” he asks, “does Zeus, hot with rage, use such an expensive golden chain?” The answer is that the space between the upper and the lower air is of a golden color.

The feeling that certain actions of the Homeric gods were unworthy of divinity began in the sixth century and was still flourishing in the second; the Alexandrines athetized, the Pergamenes allegorized, nor does it seem ever to have occurred to any of the latter to create at least a consistent allegory for the whole poem, instead of these murky, *ad hoc* elaborations of the nonsensical. Probably Homer thought this episode slightly comic, like the *θεομαχία* and other celestial beatings and bickerings. Possibly even, having made Hera such a savage character, he found a certain appeal in the idea of her being thrashed. Suspension with weights was a punishment inflicted on slaves; sometimes also it was accompanied by whipping, and the *πληγῆσιν ἰμάσσω* of line 17 suggests that in Hera’s case it was. Whether the *πληγαί* were strokes of a whip or of lightning divided the scholiasts, but most favored the latter (cf. 2.782f), probably rightly. So far all is simple, and a fitting epilogue to the *Διὸς ἀπάτη*. But there are details in the picture that lead one to suspect that there is more here than meets the eye, though Homer did not know it. Homer was not, of course, allegorizing, but he may unconsciously have been making use of some remains of a disintegrated myth, whose content and purport had nothing to do with corporal punishment.

The *Διὸς ἀπάτη* itself, as is recognized, is an example of something similar, though the myth is parodied rather than disintegrated. Hera’s lustral purification and adornment (14.170ff), her borrowing of Aphrodite’s *κεστός ἱμάς*, or saltire, and the magical growth of flowers during the union are all appropriate to the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, a fertility rite performed in various ways in various places;² so also may be the golden cloud that envelops the couple. But these motifs have been transferred to a scene of shameless deception whose purpose is far from fertility, and Homer was quite aware of what he was doing. It is possible, however, that in the *κόλασις* passage that follows he was using motifs from a different, but related, myth, the myth of Heaven and Earth.

To begin with, the golden chain, which struck Heraclitus as too

² See L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896) I 184ff.

expensive for the purpose, has occurred before. In 8.19ff, Zeus challenges the other gods to hang a golden chain from Heaven to the earth and try to pull him down:

σειρήν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες
πάντες τ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θεάιναι·
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίονδε
Ζῆν' ὕπατον μήστωρ, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πρόφρων ἐθέλωμι ἐρύσσαι,
αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμι αὐτῇ τε θαλάσῃ·
σειρήν μὲν κεν ἔπειτα περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο
δησαίμην, τὰ δέ κ' αὐτε μετήορα πάντα γένοιτο.
τόσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τ' εἰμὶ θεῶν περὶ τ' εἰμὶ ἀνθρώπων.

This Olympian tug-of-war has sometimes been thought naive, and sometimes it has been allegorized, like Hera's chain.³ In fact, it is curious to play tug-of-war vertically instead of horizontally; moreover, the poet must conceive the rope as being attached to the earth, not just hanging, if Zeus is to be able to pull up the earth and sea (24) as well as the gods. And once he has pulled them up, he means to wind the chain around a spur of Olympus — the geography is a little startling — and leave everything μετήορα, "up in the air." Something besides the tug-of-war gets involved: once more we meet the motif of suspension by a golden chain, only now it is not Hera, but the earth itself, or, as Homer says, πάντα. The golden chain seems to have something to do with the space between Heaven and Earth; actually it enters immediately after Zeus has said that Hades is as far below the Earth as Heaven is above it. This resembles Hesiod's description of the equidistant relationship between Hades, Earth, and Heaven, where again an anvil is involved (*Theog.* 722–725):

ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέατα χάλκεος ἄκμων
οὐρανόθεν κατιῶν δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο·
ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέατα χάλκεος ἄκμων
ἐκ γαίης κατιῶν δεκάτῃ κ' ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι.

Now, this anvil and Hera's two are the only anvils in Greek literature that fly around in the air instead of sitting quietly on their ἀκμόθετα where they belong. Hesiod's anvil is even more mysterious than Hera's, for it is possible that in the torture of malefactors actual anvils were hung from the feet and that Homer is simply describing a practice that he knew. But it seems unlikely; were they kept in the dungeons for the

³ See Leaf *ad loc.* for a summary of later interpretations.

purpose, or, when the time came, did someone have to run off to the smithy and borrow a couple of anvils? Tiresome for all concerned, and stupid when Greece is made of large, heavy rocks. But in any case Hesiod is not talking about malefactors, merely of an anvil falling through the air. Why did he choose an anvil? Was it that, living before Galileo, he thought that heavy objects fell faster than lighter ones? Surely in the tradition that Hesiod is following ἄκμων did not, to begin with, mean "anvil," but "thunderbolt," as Curtius long ago suggested as the original meaning of the word.⁴ Yet there is no need to part with the engaging image of the descending anvil, for that is what Hesiod understood by the word, in all probability, and that is what we are meant to picture. The same is true of the Homeric passage; for, logical as it might be for Zeus the Thunderer to hang thunderbolts to Hera's ankles and/or flagellate her with lightning, Homer had other words for these commodities, and elsewhere in the poems ἄκμων means only "anvil."

There is general agreement that Curtius was right: ἄκμων, Skt. *ásman*, "slingstone," originally meant a meteorite, which the ancients thought was the actual thunderbolt once it had spent its lightning and hit the earth. But it seems to have been not only meteorological but also theogonic. There were other theogonies besides Hesiod's, as is well known, and in at least one of them there was a god called Akmon, the father of Uranus. He is known to us from Alcman (frag. 61 Page), who has other gods also from a pantheon now unfamiliar; he occurs in a fragment of Antimachus (frag. 44 Wyss) and also in a fragment falsely attributed to Hesiod (frag. fals. 6 Rzach). Akmon was known to later people like Simias of Rhodes and Callimachus, whose Alexandrine taste for recondite mythology doubtless made this nebulous deified thunderbolt a most attractive item; and he appears in Hesychius. But he is not just a thunderbolt; he is the thunderbolt that has hit the earth, and this aspect points once more to the relationship of Earth and Heaven, and the distance between them. It is interesting that on the occasion of Hera's punishment Zeus hurled Hephaestus down from heaven to earth (1.590ff) and would have done the same to Hypnos had he not escaped (14.256ff).⁵ There seems traditionally to be some violence in

⁴ G. Curtius, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie* (5th ed., Leipzig 1879) 131. Cf. G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass. 1969) 21.

⁵ It was argued by nineteenth-century mythologists (and denied by Farnell, *Cults* V 376) that Hephaestus, the meaning of whose name is unknown, may himself be a lightningbolt, in one of his aspects, and this would make falling from heaven his most important function. This may be true if H. W. Stoll is right in saying that he is to be identified with heavenly, rather than volcanic, fire (see W. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon* I² 2038ff). But it seems likely that,

the relations between Sky and Earth; witness Uranus' treatment of Gaia and her revenge.⁶ Sky-gods are more identified with stormy than with placid skies, as the chief epithets of Zeus indicate, *ἐρίγδουπος*, *τερπικέραυνος*, etc. R. Jakobson, indeed, has suggested that *κεραυνός* is actually a name, not an attribute of Zeus, a tabu hypostasis for **Peraunos*, the hypothetical Greek form of Skt. *Parjanya*, the Storm-God.⁷ This would be the reverse of the case of Akmon, where the attribute has become the name. Either way, the god is identified with his most terrible aspect that he regularly vents upon the earth.⁸ The fundamental account of the creation of Earth and Heaven and their relationship to each other is paradoxical, for the two are distinctly separated and yet inseparably unified.⁹ The space between them, therefore, and the traversing of that space become important motifs. But myths merge, fade away, or are supplanted by other myths, while their motifs may persist. Homer and Hesiod knew nothing of the god Akmon; Hesiod, in any case, ignored him and considered Uranus fatherless. But somehow both poets were left with anvils in the air.

But all this implies that Hera is an earth-goddess, which is not generally agreed.¹⁰ Yet there are passages that suggest that she could be regarded as one, or at least in certain stories syncretized with one. The story of Typhoeus is such a case. In Hesiod (*Theog.* 820ff) Typhoeus is the son of Gaia and Tartarus, but in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* 306-355, his mother is Hera and he has no father. Angry that Zeus has borne Athena quite by himself, she smites the ground with her palm (*ἔμασε*, 340) and calls on Earth, Heaven, and the Titans who dwell in Tartarus to give her an offspring apart from Zeus; the earth shakes in response, and when the time comes she bears Typhoeus

in origin at least, he was a divinity of eruptive, subterranean fire, or simply fire in general; see M. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* (New York 1940) 89.

⁶ This tradition may account for Aeschylus' provocative choice of imagery in frag. 44 Nauck; N.B. *τρώσαι χθόνα*.

⁷ See Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* s.v. "Slavic Mythology," vol. 2, p. 1026. I am indebted to Professor Calvert Watkins for pointing out this article.

⁸ Cf. Zeus lashing the earth around Typhoeus, not Typhoeus himself, *Il.* 2.782; note *ἰμάσση*.

⁹ The separation of sky and earth is described or mentioned in practically all mythologies; see W. Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde*, diss. Tübingen 1942.

¹⁰ See W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Beacon Paperback 1955) 66ff, for a balanced summary of the arguments and a cautious acceptance of Hera's once having been a goddess of the earth.

by a kind of parthenogenesis.¹¹ This version suggests that Hera is not wholly without chthonic affiliations, which is why, perhaps, Pherecydes in his allegorized mythology gave her the name *Xθονίη*.¹² A sky-god should be married to an earth-goddess, and it seems possible that Hera once may have been one, before she became specialized as patroness of the more limited fertility of legal marriage.

To suit his comic purpose, Homer turned the Sacred Marriage into a seduction, and it was only the natural sequel for Zeus to punish his wife, or threaten to. But in describing the method, the poet seems to have used some motifs from a myth of the eternal confrontation of Earth and Sky. The suspension of the one over the other has somehow given birth to the idea of a golden chain between them, and this in turn has become a bond by which to suspend Hera; the violent celestial phenomena that descend onto the earth have become Zeus swinging a lash, and the thunderstones that hit the earth have become anvils dangling from the feet of the queen of the gods. The narrative outline of the myth to which these motifs belong cannot be recovered; the motifs, however, remained embedded in the tradition. The Stoic allegorists were right to see something beneath the surface of this grotesquerie, and right to see that the elements were involved. But by a false etymology they treated Hera as air instead of earth, and they were wrong to think of the passage as deliberate allegory. For Homer, the episode was simply the *κόλασις* *Ἡρας*, a piece of rather grim domestic discipline, but well deserved and, since the victim was immortal, more of a cause for merriment than for concern. How he came by these motifs no one can tell, any more than it can be explained why, when it rains and shines at once, people say that the Devil is beating his wife.

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¹¹ In *Theog.* 927ff Hera produces Hephaestus in similar fashion and for the same reason. The interchange of Hera and Gaia seems clear, but what of Hephaestus and Typhoeus? Both are associated with fire and volcanoes, and both get cast down from Heaven. Could it be that Homer's genial artisan once had more repellent physical defects than mere lameness and that he was, in fact, a monster? Cf. the epithet *πέλωρ*, *Il.* 18.410.

¹² Cf. also S. G. Kapsomenos, "Ὁ Ὀρφικὸς Πάπυρος τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης," *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* 19 (1964), p. 24, col. 18: *Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρη ἢ αὐτή.*

ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ : A POSTSCRIPT

JOHN G. GRIFFITH

I was particularly interested in Professor Whitman's article (vol. 73 [1969] 109-112) on *ΛΗΚΥΘΙΟΝ ΑΠΩΛΕΣΕΝ*, with which I am in complete agreement; a few weeks before this issue reached the Bodleian library, I had received back, with the urbanest of rejection letters (dated 29 January 1969), the typescript of a contribution I had sent to another much respected periodical — whose identity I have, *more Herodoteo*, "forgotten on purpose" — in which I argued from the same evidence to the same conclusion as Whitman. οὐ νέμεσις — for τὰ φαλλικά are not to everyone's taste: personal scruples may influence even the most objective of referees, and I have been fortunately, if fortuitously, spared the embarrassment of seeing in print months later what might have been mistaken for plagiarism. With Whitman's goodwill, however, I venture to add a postscript to his note, for I was led to the detection of this piece of Aristophanic bawdy by a different route and only came on the lexicographical evidence for *ληκά-ω* and its cognates subsequently. On these, duly mentioned by Whitman, it may be noted that Aristophanes *Thesm.* 493 is quoted with *ληκώμεθα* as last word in the *Suda* (vol. 1.3, p. 262 Adler) while the *Ravennas* offers the bowdlerizing gloss *κινώμεθα*. Also the context in which *ληκήματα* occurs in Epicurus frag. 414 (Usener) quoted in Cleomedes (2.1, p. 112 Bak.) may be in point: διεφθορότα ἐστὶ . . . λέγοντι . . . γαργαλισμοὺς σώματος καὶ ληκήματα καὶ ἄλλας τοιαύτας κακὰς ἄτας.

No satisfactory explanation has, so far as I am aware, been put forward for the puzzling name *αὐτολήκυθοι* applied to gangs of street hoodlums in Demosthenes 34.14 (*Κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκείας*), although these are coupled with another group called *ἰθυφάλλοι*. The passage runs: . . . ὥς εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλοί, καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν υἱεῖς οἱ παίζοντες οἷ' ἄνθρωποι νέοι σφισὶν αὐτοῖς ἐπωνυμίας πεποιήνται, καὶ καλοῦσι τοὺς μὲν ἰθυφάλλους, τοὺς δ' αὐτοληκύθους . . . Now if these two names were synonyms, all is plain, and while the precise weight to be attached to *αὐτο-* in the compound may be elusive, the choice of word no longer is.¹ It could equally well mean "the ideal *λήκυθος* / *φαλλός*" as *αὐτόιπιπος*

¹ After this sentence was typed, I lit upon the same suggestion in a forgotten

means "ideal horse" in Arist. *Metaph.* 1040b33 (cf. αὐτάνθρωπος and numerous other formations of this kind) or "λήκυθος / φαλλός and all," as αὐτόφλοιον (Theoc. 25.208) and the like. There may be other possibilities that would also suit. This identification of αὐτολήκυθος with ἰθύφαλλος is clinched, I think, by the reference to Τριβαλλοί later in the same speech (54.39). Here perhaps I may be allowed to resurrect a phrase from the rejected article, which was written *pudoris causa* in the veiling decency of Latin:

ut res usque ad umbilicos adducatur, considera, quaeso, verbum Τριβαλλοί quod Demosthenes in eadem oratione usurpavit: ἑτέρους καὶ Κόνωνα τουτονὶ ἐταίρους εἶναι μειράκι' ὄντας καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχειν. ut constat Thraces, barbaros immani feritate praeditos, illis temporibus impetus in terram Abderiticam fecisse (Diod. 15.36), ita eius nationis nomen cum ἰθυφάλλοις et αὐτοληκύθοις bene quadrat; scilicet in mentem auditoris non modo τρίβειν² sed etiam, cum inter pronuntiationem syllabarum *beta* et *phi* parvum esset discrimen,³ τριφάλλους ceteraque eiusdem generis revocabat.

As for the other two diminutives in line 1203 of the *Frogs*, it requires, in default of ancient evidence, little effort of the imagination to find an appropriate sense for κωδάριον (= *pubes*, as e.g. Pliny *N.H.* 34.8 [19] 58), and even less for θυλάκιον, since θυλακή is found in a veterinary context in the *Hippiatrica* (50).

Whitman's candour and scholarly reserve led him to admit that the evidence for his suggested interpretation "may seem slight," and this is my justification for having thus ventured to reopen the matter in order to carry the investigation one stage further. I hope that the additional evidence of Demosthenes may be thought to establish the true sense of the Aristophanes passage beyond reasonable doubt and at the same time to dispel the mists that still surround a perplexing word in a famous and often read private speech.⁴

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dissertation by C. Zink, *Adnotationes ad Demosthenis orationem in Cononem* (Erlangen 1883) 22. He identifies λήκυθος and φαλλός with documentation and discusses the two senses of the prefix αὐτο-. He does not, however, call attention to the passage of the *Frogs* and has nothing to the point on Τριβαλλοί (p. 29) but adds the similar use of ἀλάστρον *sensu phallico* in Ar. *Lys.* 947.

² This piece of wordplay had been noticed by J. E. Sandys and F. A. Paley in their edition (*Select Private Speeches of Demosthenes* [1896], vol. 2, p. 242).

³ On this see, e.g., N. Bachtin, *Introduction to the Study of Modern Greek* (1935) 35.

⁴ I have since discovered by correspondence that Professor C. J. Herington had been thinking independently on similar lines, more particularly as regards κωδάριον and θυλάκιον.

THE FRIEDLAENDER HYDRIA

JOHN GRIFFITHS PEDLEY

THE Greek black-figure hydria (pl. 1)¹ bearing on the body the familiar empaneled scene of Herakles' struggle with Triton or Nereus or The Old Man of the Sea (Brommer's² neutral term "Meerwesen" is perhaps appropriate) was purchased on the New York market on 7 April 1962. Presently in the possession of Mr. Jonathan Scott Friedlaender of Cambridge, Massachusetts, the hydria was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of New York from 3 May 1966 to 2 January 1968 and while in the care of the Metropolitan enjoyed a scrupulous cleaning and careful photography.³ At some point in its life, as is most readily visible in the profile view (pl. II, 1) and the view of the shoulder scene (pl. II, 2), the hydria was broken. It was subsequently repaired, and missing pieces⁴ were restored in plaster and repainted; since the cleaning undertaken by the Metropolitan Museum, the restored pieces are easily recognizable and the hydria will remain, it is hoped, in this condition. In spite of the catastrophe that overtook the vessel at one point in its life, it is almost totally preserved:⁵ both the painted scenes and the full contour of the shape retain their pristine vigor. The glaze is uneven, varying from highly vitreous (on the neck) to a motley stringiness beneath the body scene.

Wide mouth, wide brim, and rounded lip are all features characteristic of the "catcher" hydria; from beneath the lip the neck falls in concave

¹ I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude to Mr. Friedlaender for permission to publish this hydria, and to Dr. Dietrich von Bothmer from whose knowledge, advice, and criticism I have greatly benefited.

² F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*, 1st ed. (Marburg 1956) 84-89; rev. D. von Bothmer, *AJA* 61 (1957) 103-110; 2nd ed. (Marburg 1960) 111-117.

³ Both Mr. Friedlaender and I wish to thank the authorities at the Metropolitan Museum for all their care and help, courtesy and skill.

⁴ Missing, on the shoulder: right thigh of left warrior; left thigh, buttocks, and right thigh of right warrior; two small undecorated pieces; on the body: head of male figure at left; elbow, buttocks, and midriff of female figure at left; other small insignificant pieces, e.g. some parts of ivy decoration at lower right.

⁵ Measurements: H. 0.476 m.; W. 0.362 m.; Diam. 0.31 m.; Diam. of mouth 0.228 m.; Diam. of foot 0.161 m.

contours to the flattened dome of the shoulder. The curved back handle reaches above the uneven (in profile view) horizontal of the lip; metalloid spurs at the join of handle and lip emphasize the influence exerted on potters by bronze casters in the sixth century. This is already evident in the wide brim and depressed shoulder, for no sixth-century bronze hydria known to me has narrow rim and arching domed shoulder.⁶ The rounded side handles jut upward and outward from immediately below the carination at the junction of shoulder and body. While the profile from neck to shoulder has been reversed, from shoulder to body it continues the full swelling convex line. The foot is the plain black torus usual in hydrias of the later sixth century,⁷ separated from the body by a fillet c. 1 cm. high. On the underside of the foot an inscription of two letters is incised: a three-barred sigma and an omicron. The commercial significance of these inscriptions has been exhaustively examined by Rudolf Hackl.⁸ In sum, the body is plump and sturdy, the shoulder flattened but still curved, the neck squat but trumpet-like. These are not the attenuated and slimmer potting proportions of hydrias popular at the end of the sixth century,⁹ but conform rather to an earlier standard — a standard that admittedly was manneristically revived by a few potters in the final decade of the century.¹⁰

For the decoration, the usual scheme of black and red tongues appears above the shoulder picture; though normally this pattern is restricted to the area directly above the shoulder scene, here, as occasionally, the motif continues the whole way round the hydria. Plain vertical lines bound either side the shoulder picture, but the painter, typically, has not painted his black glaze quite up to these thin lines. A horizontal black line articulates the broken rhythm of the profile at the junction of shoulder and body and divides the shoulder scene from the panel on the body. A ground line forms the base of the principal picture, though, again typically, the glaze painter has not brought his

⁶ For examples of sixth-century bronze hydrias and the formal development of the hydria in Greece, see E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964) *passim*: for black-figure hydrias, 56–60.

⁷ J. D. Beazley, "The Antimenes Painter," *JHS* 47 (1927) 86.

⁸ R. Hackl, "Merkantile Inschriften auf attischen Vasen," *Münchener Archäologische Studien dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet* (Munich 1909) I 5–106, esp. 21, 32, 64, 76, 94.

⁹ Cf., e.g., hydrias of the Leagros group: J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (Berkeley 1951) 81–87, pls. 39, 1, 3; 40, 2; 41.

¹⁰ H. Bloesch, "Stout and Slender in the Late Archaic Period," *JHS* 71 (1951) 29–39.

glaze quite up to this line; the customary ivy branches, stems, and leaves flank this scene. Uncustomarily, the branches are not represented by straight vertical lines, but by lines that wriggle their way up the hydria between the stems and leaves. At the base, upward pointing rays encircle the vessel.

The width of the scene on the shoulder is the same as that of the scene on the body; this is not always the case.¹¹ Depicted are five figures, of which the central one is attempting to prevent two warriors from coming to grips: thus, an arm and a hand are extended in supplication to each. A separated combat, then.¹² Flanking the central trio, single figures stand either side. The flanking figures wear chitons and cloaks: carrying spears, they stand in histrionic attitudes, extending their right arms toward the combat as much to direct the attention of the viewer as to express any emotional involvement of their own. The heroes wear crested Corinthian helmets and the "muscle" cuirass,¹³ and they carry Boeotian shields.¹⁴ They stride purposefully toward one another and prepare to unleash their javelins. The central figure dividing the combatants, arms and legs outstretched, wears a striped tunic (probably red, though the color has now gone pale) and cloak spread over his arms. Unarmed, he is doubtless a herald.

The emblem scarcely discernible on the shield of the warrior to the right is the thunderbolt, certainly as much decorative as apotropaic.¹⁵ The shield itself is of a type deliberately anachronistic, which evidently was used by artists to indicate that the scene portrayed belongs to the mythic past of the heroes. Actual sixth-century hoplite shields were larger, heavier, and round, and the Boeotian shield seems never to have really existed in the sixth century, in spite of the evidence for a precursor furnished by Geometric pottery¹⁶ and the well-known Karditsa warrior.¹⁷

The scene is one of the generic archaic kind, the sort which by the

¹¹ Cf., e.g., Beazley (above, n. 9), pls. 36, 2; 39, 1, 3; 40.

¹² For more animated separated combats see F. P. Johnson, "Black-Figure Pottery at Chicago," *AJA* 47 (1943) 385-389, with reference to a hydria in the British Museum (B 327: *CVA* III He pl. 86, 3) and to *CVA* III H Gallatin (U.S.A. fasc. 8 pl. 36, 1) where similar scenes are portrayed.

¹³ A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks* (Cornell 1967) pl. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 44, 55, 96.

¹⁵ On the blazons decorating Greek hoplite shields see G. H. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks," *HSCP* 13 (1902) 61-127: for the thunderbolt, 68, 76, 85, 124.

¹⁶ E.g., E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasen* (Munich 1940) fig. 15.

¹⁷ W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1929) 43, pl. xviiB.

addition of inscriptions, attributes, or topographical data easily becomes a specific event.¹⁸ Given that the artist had here a heroic combat in mind, is it possible to make a more precise identification of the scene? The *Iliad* (7.273–282) gives particulars that I believe are appropriate for this picture. Hector battles Ajax, and the struggle is interrupted by the heralds, Idaios and Talthybios, for whom one, Idaios, speaks. Though details do not all match,¹⁹ the identification of the shoulder scene of the Friedlaender hydria with this duel seems possible.²⁰

In contrast to the separated combat of the shoulder scene, the panel on the body of the hydria depicts a combat joined: the struggle between Herakles, easily identifiable by his attribute, and a sea monster.²¹ The identity of this sea monster has been as puzzling to modern scholars²² as it was protean in antiquity. It seems that, even among artists of the sixth century, no single view prevailed: inscriptions reveal that to some the sea monster wrestling with Herakles was The Old Man of the Sea,²³ to others Triton,²⁴ and to others Nereus.²⁵ No ancient

¹⁸ G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Narration in Greek Art," *AJA* 61 (1957) 71–78.

¹⁹ E.g., the Homeric heroes are about to attack one another with swords, not spears, at the point when Idaios intervenes.

²⁰ The duel between Ajax and Hector was portrayed on one of the panels of the chest of Kypselos (Pausanias 5.19.2). There the heroes were separated pictorially (we assume) by a personification of Eris, whose function, obviously and in contrast to that of the herald of the Friedlaender hydria, was to draw the contestants together. For different phases of this duel, depicted on Corinthian aryballoi of the last quarter of the seventh century and definitely identified by inscriptions see

a) Louvre MNC 669. *CVA* Louvre 6 III Ca pl. 6, 9–12. H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) no. 499. Brommer (above, n. 2) 279, C1

b) Amsterdam. *CVA* Mus. Scheurleer 1 III C pl. 5, 3. Payne, *ibid.*, no. 500. Brommer, *ibid.*, 279, C2

now most readily available in K. F. Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (Copenhagen 1967) 63–68, 245. For the identification of other separated combats, see Johnson (above, n. 12) 388, where the quarrel between Ajax and Odysseus over the arms of Achilles is suggested as the intended heroic event.

²¹ For iconographic precursors in oriental art to the merman of the archaic Greek artists, see K. Shepard, *The Fish-Tailed Monster in Greek and Etruscan Art* (New York 1940) 1–9.

²² For archaic confusion, if not identification of Triton with The Old Man of the Sea, and later (Hellenistic) assimilation of both to the personality of Nereus, see S. B. Luce, "Heracles and The Old Man of the Sea," *AJA* 26 (1922) 174–192.

²³ A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia* (*Olympia* 4) (Berlin 1890) 102, no. 699, 2 = Luce (above, n. 22) 182–183, fig. 7.

²⁴ British Museum B 223: *CVA* British Museum 4 III He pl. 55, 2 = Brommer (above, n. 2) 112, no. 9.



PLATE J. The Friedlaender Hydria.



PLATE II, 1. Profile view.

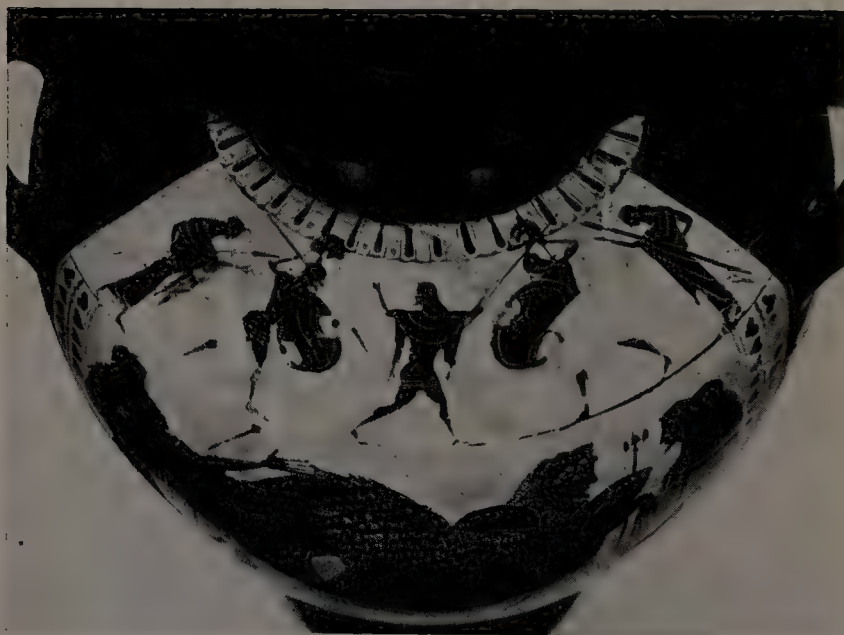


PLATE II, 2. Shoulder.

literary source mentions a struggle between Herakles and Triton. Yet the tradition of a struggle between Herakles and Nereus, most fully preserved in Apollodoros (*Bibliotheca* 2.5.11) can be traced through Pherekydes somewhat tenuously to Stesichoros in the mid-sixth century.²⁶ In Homer Nereus never appears, and Hesiod (*Theogony* 234, 1003) is the first to mention him, identifying him, at that, as The Old Man of the Sea (or at any rate as *an* old man of the sea). It may be possible, then, to equate Nereus with The Old Man of the Sea as early as the sixth century and say that the story of his struggle with Herakles was current at that time.²⁷ Yet the epigraphic evidence of the vases is against this: on the grounds of a simple arithmetical count of inscriptions identifying the sea monster wrestling with Herakles on preserved sixth-century vases, I prefer to identify the merman as Triton, and refer to him as such on the Friedlaender hydria.

Herakles facing right sits astride and atop Triton with his right arm coming over Triton's right shoulder and his left beneath Triton's left armpit, holding the merman in an apparently painless variation of the half nelson. His hands are locked firmly together, and Triton strives in vain to break this grip, both his arms akimbo tugging at Herakles' wrists. Herakles wears a striped tunic, similar to the garb of the herald in the shoulder scene, most of which is hidden with Herakles himself behind Triton's body. Added red was used for Herakles' hair and beard. Triton's marine lower half snakes off to the left and is characterized, unusually, by appearing more to be a feline pelt than the

Louvre F 298: *CVA* Louvre 6 III He pl. 72, 2 = Brommer, *ibid.*, 114, no. 57.

Cambridge G 54: *CVA* Cambridge 1 III He pl. 16, 2 = Brommer, *ibid.*, 114, no. 73.

²⁵ J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956) 25, no. 18 (from Samos).

²⁶ Shepard (above, n. 21) 13.

²⁷ In this view it would also be possible to equate all three, Triton, The Old Man of the Sea, and Nereus; or to say that Triton was another submarine deity concurrently popular with Nereus = The Old Man of the Sea. The old view articulated in Daremberg-Saglio (s.vv. Hercules, Triton), that all named sea deities, Proteus, Glaukos, Poseidon, Nereus, Triton, Phorkys, are derivatives from, or local and particular manifestations of, an ur-God, The Old Man of the Sea, is still tenable. There is little clarity; but there does seem to be a distinction between the literary record, which states unequivocally that it was Nereus with whom Herakles fought, and the evidence of the monuments. The pot painters, and perhaps by extension the sculptors of the pedimental groups on the Athenian acropolis and at Assos, seem to have preferred to identify the sea monster whom Herakles wrestled as Triton.

scaly surface of a submarine dweller. Though the artist began in scale pattern for a single register below the pectoral on the left, he quickly changed to hairy pelt-like parallel incisions, similar in technique to the shaggy lion's mane that Herakles wears. Triton's belly stripe was originally white, and his face and neck painted in the old-fashioned added red.²⁸ Hair, beard, and moustache are all articulated differently, though a hemispherical bathing cap hides most of Triton's crown.

Two pairs of figures flank the central scene, and of these the two on the right are recognizable as Poseidon and Amphitrite by the trident which Poseidon carries; Amphitrite, wearing checkerboard peplos, stands in front of her spouse. In no uncertainty about where their sympathy lies, Poseidon stares challengingly with pursed lips at Herakles as he holds his trident upright before him. The two figures to the left are less easy to identify: unlike Poseidon and Amphitrite, the man does not stand stock-still but, with outstretched hands and arms, steps toward the conflict. The drawing is untidy in this area: the man's right shoulder is confused with the left shoulder of his female companion so that it is not immediately clear which of the two is carrying the spear (scepter?). This attribute is drawn closer to the viewer than the man's right arm, and in front of the woman's body. It seems that she must have been carrying the object in the hand of her bent right arm. The positioning of the feet might argue that these figures' support is for Herakles; in this event they provide an emotional foil to the antagonism of Poseidon and Amphitrite and may perhaps be identified as Athena and Hermes, longtime companions and associates of Herakles.

Yet, in other representations of this struggle, Athena and Hermes are not the most frequent attendants, and there are here no preserved or discernible attributes by which Hermes may be identified: certainly the feet are unshod. And if Athena is Athena, she has left her aegis and helmet behind and carries a rather blunt spear.²⁹ Frequently apparent among the surrounding figures in the pottery representations is an anthropomorphic Nereus, and this identification is made good by

²⁸ On erythrology see H. R. W. Smith, "The Hearst Hydria," *University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology*, vol. 1, no. 10 (1944) 241-290; and, for Tritonian and Heraklean obsolescence in this respect, esp. n. 36.

²⁹ Bluntness of another kind is visible in Poseidon's trident: there the top of the barbs has vanished where the paint has disappeared. The same cause for lack of pointedness may not be considered for this object: the paint reaches almost up to the line marking the separation between body and shoulder, and there is no space for a further extension of it. This object, accordingly, was meant to be seen as a staff or scepter.

inscriptions on two vessels.³⁰ In these instances, Nereus appears as a white-haired old man, bearded and wearing a long chiton; he stands to the left and carries a staff or scepter. He does not gesticulate. It is just possible to make out that our (unfortunately largely headless) man had a beard: he wears a long chiton and in the excitement of the moment may perhaps be said to have handed his scepter over to his companion. Accordingly, I prefer to see this figure as Nereus; the female by his side will then be identifiable as Doris, his sister and wife. She, like Amphitrite, wears the dotted checkerboard peplos;³¹ and, like Amphitrite, her face was originally painted in added white, as were some of the folds of their garments. There is no predella.

In discussions of the development of Greek vase shapes it is customary to talk of a movement from heavy and massive forms to tall and slender; this "rule" holds true for the development of the hydria in the sixth century. The thick, ponderous forms of the Friedlaender hydria seem, then, to make this vessel no less akin formally to the round squat shapes of the Timagora hydrias³² than to the straight, elegant forms and lines of the hydrias of the last decade of the sixth century, where reduction of volumes, tightening of outlines, and increase of tensions are all exemplified.³³ It might have been tempting to associate our hydria with the reintroduction of stouter³⁴ norms in the closing years of the century, with the fuller silhouette and amplified volumes renewed by such potters as the Ring-Foot Potter and the Potter of the Hypsis Hydria. But the Friedlaender hydria does not demonstrate the same tightness of contour, does not have the same magnification and expansion of forms above the shoulder, and is heavier (if not broader) in the lower part of the body.

In shape and proportions this hydria is close to a hydria said to be Andocidean and dated c. 520-510 B.C.³⁵ But again there are differences: while lip and foot are similar, the curving outline of the Friedlaender hydria continues higher than the Andocidean, thus emphasizing the ovoid character of the design and betraying the round form from which

³⁰ British Museum B 223: *CVA* British Museum 4 III He pl. 55, 2 = Brommer (above, n. 2) 112 no. 9.

Louvre F 298: *CVA* Louvre 6 III He pl. 72, 2 = Brommer, *ibid.*, 114 no. 57. In red-figure representations Nereus does not appear as fishtailed.

³¹ We are reminded, of course, of the amphora by Exekias (Vatican 344) where the female figure similarly wears the Doric peplos.

³² Cf., e.g., Louvre F 39: *CVA* Louvre 6 III He pl. 64, 1-3.

³³ Cf., e.g., British Museum B 343: British Museum 6 III He pl. 94, 3.

³⁴ Bloesch (above, n. 10) 35-36.

³⁵ British Museum B 339: *CVA* British Museum 6 III He pl. 92, 3.

the body is derived. The body is not set off so sharply from the shoulder: the curve continues. Since the neck is squatter and the lip does not extend so far, the effect in the Friedlaender hydria is to concentrate our attention on the figured scene, overbalancing the proportions in favor of the squat and sturdy body. Proportions and shape, then, suggest a date prior to 520 B.C. The Friedlaender hydria is close, again, in shape to a hydria said to have been decorated by the Lysippides Painter or in his manner.³⁶ Though again the shoulder is flatter and we should not be deceived by the close proximity of the absolute measurements,³⁷ this hydria shows the same chunkiness of shape and heaviness of the lower body. Lip, neck, foot, curving flank handles, and back handle are also very like.

The painting and incision that decorate the Friedlaender hydria, if less than masterly, are still effective. Lack of disciplined techniques is evident in the shoulder scene, where the incised lines delineating forms often reveal a summary treatment. Thus, uncontrolled scratches serve to outline anatomical forms (legs of the herald and arms of the heroes) and articles of clothing and armor (the attendants' cloaks, the heroes' cuirasses and shields). Though attention to detail, then, is cursory, the scene nevertheless communicates an air of urgency, more by pose and gesture and effective composition of balanced painted masses than anything else. The herald arrives in the nick of time. A distanced view of the paneled scene on the body is likewise more convincing than close scrutiny; but here more care has been exercised, and this was applied more willingly to the main characters than to the bystanders. Thus, though anatomical detail has not been pursued for the onlookers (e.g. legs and feet and female faces), considerable care was lavished on the heads, arms, and legs of the wrestling couple. Triton's hair appears in three distinct styles, and his muscularity is not demeaned; Herakles' head and the lion's mane are closely drawn. Compositionally crowded and iconographically conservative, the scene is effective largely because of its mythic narrative content presented here in the usual "mono-scenic" archaic manner.³⁸

Too few details of anatomical forms are preserved for any attempt to associate this vessel with any known painter to be completely appropriate. While the shape is close to that of hydrias decorated by the Lysippides Painter or in his manner, the Lysippides Painter's drawing is far

³⁶ British Museum B 302: *CVA* British Museum 6 III He pl. 74, 3; 75, 3.

³⁷ Hydria in the British Museum: H. 0.47 m. (as against Friedlaender hydria H. 0.476): Diam. of mouth 0.18 m. (as against 0.228 m.)

³⁸ Hanfmann (above, n. 18) 73.

neater, more precise, and busier:³⁹ our painter's skills do not equal his. Yet it is perhaps of some interest that, of seven hydrias identified by Beazley⁴⁰ as being related to the Lysippides Painter, no less than four show as their body scene the match between Herakles and Triton. This speaks eloquently enough for the popularity of this theme in the decade c. 530–c. 520 B.C. Together with the potter's scale of proportions, this suggests that the painter of the Friedlaender hydria was active in the Kerameikos in that decade and was familiar with, if not close to, the work of those potters and painters related to the Lysippides Painter. Some details may suggest an earlier date: shape of the brim and the lack of predella scene could be regarded as earlyish traits, and a date for the making of the Friedlaender hydria c. 530 B.C. seems sound.

The Friedlaender hydria, then, is no masterpiece. Its significance lies in that it stands chronologically toward the beginning of the series of late black-figure hydrias when the canon of proportions was still influenced by the ovoid shapes of the middle of the century. Some details are unusual: the black and red tongue pattern encircling the shoulder where neck and shoulder meet; the wavy line depicting the branch of the decorative ivy flanking the main scene; the reproduction of Triton's skin as shaggy hide rather than in scale pattern. For these details alone, the Friedlaender hydria is remarkable, and worthily takes its place alongside other sixth-century depictions of Triton's overthrow.

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³⁹ Cf., e.g., Louvre F 294: *CVA* Louvre 6 III He pl. 70, 5–6.

⁴⁰ Beazley (above, n. 25) 262–264.

A FURTHER REMARK ON LACHMANN'S LAW

CALVERT WATKINS

IN a recent article in this journal, J. Kuryłowicz offered a brief but suggestive Remark on Lachmann's law.¹ The following further remarks will take the eminent Polish linguist's paper as their point of departure; we may recapitulate his arguments in brief here and thus introduce the problem. "The phonetical explanation of the difference between the short *a* of *fāctus*, *iāctus* and the long *a* of *āctus*, *frāctus*, etc., goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century (Lachmann's commentary on *De rerum natura* I 805). Lachmann's argumentation is unsatisfactory . . . But even discarding all superfluous and erroneous details his formula (short vowel before *media* > long vowel in participles) has proved a hard nut for the following generations of comparatists" (p. 295).

The formula is thus that a short vowel of a root in a final Indo-European voiced unaspirated stop is lengthened before the participle suffix *-to-*. The absence of examples with final *b* reduces the alleged patterns to two, with the normal phonetic output.

-Vg-to- → -V̄kto- (*legō* → *lēctus*)
-Vd-to- → -V̄sso → -V̄so- (*edō* → *ēsus*)

The reality of the "hidden quantity" in these participial forms is completely borne out by three independent testimonies: inscriptions with the long vowel marked by the apex; the development of the relevant forms in the Romance languages; and the explicit discussion by Aulus Gellius *Noct. att.* 9.6. Lachmann, writing in 1850, was able to say "Haec quasi inutilia grammaticos nostros non attingere video, neque eos qui pueris libellos scribunt, neque qui e libellis sapiunt. magnam tamen eorum partem exposuit Gellius in Atticarum Noctium 9.6 et 12.3, ubi enumerata sunt haec . . ." While it is perhaps understandable that Lewis and Short should take no notice of the Gellius passage or Lachmann, it is distinctly less forgivable that the Oxford Latin Dictionary of 1968 still writes *actus* without quantity, thereby ignoring not only Gellius and Lachmann, but over a century of manuals of Latin historical grammar.

¹ *HSCP* 72 (1968) 295-299.

Kuryłowicz's paper attests a rekindled interest in this perennial crux in Latin phonology, which has manifested itself in other studies as well. In particular A. Maniet, writing in 1956, was concerned with eliminating all the cases involving root final *-d* except where the long vowel perfect was to have influenced the participle (*ēsus*, *visus*): an unsatisfactory and uneasy combination of phonetic and analogical change.² Maniet's formulation reads (p. 237): "Une voyelle brève, à l'exception de *i*, s'est allongée à la suite de l'assourdissement d'un *g* précédant', tout en admettant une certaine hésitation en ce qui concerne l'exclusion de la voyelle *i*." It is somewhat surprising to discover this implausible congeries of phonetical conditioning now quoted with evident approval by W. S. Allen.³ Yet Allen must also invoke some analogical lengthenings (e.g., *ēemptus*, after *ēmi*) outside the phonetic conditions, and states finally that "the cause of the lengthening under the (revised) Lachmann's law is far from certain."

Lachmann's law has also not escaped the notice of modern generative phonologists of the M.I.T. school. Thus Paul Kiparsky, in his unpublished doctoral thesis,⁴ poses two ordered rules:

- $$\begin{aligned} (1) \quad [-\text{consonantal}] &\rightarrow [+ \text{long}] \quad / - \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{obstruent} \\ + \text{voiced} \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{obstruent} \\ - \text{voiced} \end{array} \right] \\ (2) \quad [+ \text{obstruent}] &\rightarrow [\alpha \text{ voiced}] \quad / - \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{obstruent} \\ \alpha \text{ voiced} \end{array} \right], \end{aligned}$$

"Thus underlying *ag-tus* becomes first *āgtus* by (1) and then *āktus* by (2), while an underlying *fak-tus* is not affected by either rule." He can then state that (2) is a low-level rule, albeit of Indo-European date, and

² "La 'Loi de Lachmann' et les antinomies de l'allongement compensatoire," *Hommages à Max Niedermann* (Bruxelles 1956) 230-237.

³ *Vox Latina* (Cambridge 1965) 68-70.

⁴ *Phonological Change* (M.I.T. 1965) pp. 1-29. Cf. also Paul M. Postal, *Aspects of Phonological Theory* (New York 1968) 261-263. Postal considerably overstates the case both when he asserts (240-241) that "(PI) the view that no regular sound changes require reference to morphophonemic or superficial grammatical environments... is the dominant modern view," and when he asserts that "(PII) the view that some regular phonetic changes take place in environments whose specification requires reference to nonphonetic morphophonemic and/or superficial grammatical structure... is suggested by phonological work done within the framework of generative grammar." Alert Indo-Europeanists long ago abandoned the neogrammarian position (PI) and were offering historical explanations in terms of (PII) considerably before the advent of generative phonology.

⁵ To be read as: (1) a vowel is lengthened before a sequence of voiced and unvoiced consonants; (2) a consonant assimilates in voicing to a following consonant.

that (1) is a Latin rule later added to the grammar at a higher level. On this basis he can conclude that "underlying phonetic representations may function as conditioning environment for sound change," i.e., that the *g* of *ag-tos* underlying surface *ak-tos* conditions the change to *āktōs*.

This seems merely a displacement of the problem, not a solution. I would not dispute a priori an analysis such as Kiparsky has offered, as an artifact of a synchronic description seeking to satisfy the simplicity criterion and account for the facts (although Kiparsky's rules do not as they stand).⁶ The same was, after all, the view of Lachmann himself. But in neither case do we have to do with a historical explanation; and the aims of synchronic and diachronic linguistics may differ fundamentally. With some reservations, I would further not dispute a priori Kiparsky's view that the underlying base form or morphophonemic representation may in some sense condition a sound change, at least a sound change that is "morphological" in its domain of application (i.e., restricted to certain morphological categories) and serves to reestablish a surface distinction of morphophonemic elements previously merged. An example would perhaps be Brugmann's law in Indo-Iranian. Another instance, showing a striking though superficial parallel to Lachmann's law, is found in certain Eastern Ukrainian dialects, where earlier ambiguous surface infinitive forms like ORuss. *vesti*, representing two underlying base forms, {ved-ti} 'to lead' and {vez-ti} 'to convey,' have been phonetically differentiated into Ukrainian surface *vesty* and *vezty* (with phonetic [-zt-]) for the respective base forms.⁷ This is not a sound change *conditioned* by the underlying form, but a *reintroduction* of the underlying form, a case of rule deletion comparable to the elimination of consonantal morphophonemics in the Russian noun. The Ukrainian situation in any case came about only after, and because, the loss of the jers created the possibility of clusters of *media* + *tenuis* (voiced lax + unvoiced tense) in the phonological system.

Yet even granted its methodological correctness (as modified above), and ignoring the fact that it cannot account for all the data as it stands, Kiparsky's explanation of Lachmann's law still suffers from the same

⁶ Cf. the lengthening in *ēemptus*, which the rules do not provide for, and the absence of lengthening in *-sessus*, *scissus*, *fissus*, where the rules say there should be.

⁷ I am indebted to my colleague Henning Andersen for calling these facts to my attention. See his forthcoming paper "Indo-European voicing sandhi in Ukrainian." The data are described in *Kurs sučasnoji literaturnoji ukrajins'koji movy*, ed. L. A. Bulaxovs'kyj (Kiev 1951) 187, 199.

defects as those of his predecessors in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Lachmann's law is viewed as a phonetic law, phonetically conditioned. (That the conditioning factors are viewed as underlying morphophonemes, rather than surface phones, is irrelevant.)

As Kuryłowicz points out, the phonetic explanation is hampered by such counterexamples as *lassus* < **lad-to-* (: Goth. *lats* 'ὀκνηρός, sluggish') and *tussis* < **tud-ti-* (: *tundō*, Skt. *tudāti* 'beats'). Kiparsky rightly points out that these do not invalidate his rules, since the etymological connection making possible the synchronic base forms *lad-*, *tud-* would have been lost. But more serious are counterexamples like *-sessus*, *fictus*, *strictus*, *scissus*, where the base forms *sed-* etc. are perfectly palpable; for these neither the old phonetic rule, nor Kiparsky's generative modification of it, will work.

Kuryłowicz therefore saw correctly — and this is the great achievement of his paper — that a morphophonemic solution was indicated; that Lachmann's law was not a phonetic rule, but the result of an "analogical" refashioning of the phonological shape (vocalic length) of the root syllable in certain determined morphological categories, namely where the perfect active is formed by vocalic lengthening.

For his paper Kuryłowicz was not concerned with surveying the anterior literature on the question, and he does not mention that somewhat similar views were advanced by R. G. Kent in 1928,⁸ and indeed as early as 1884 by H. Osthoff.⁹ Thus the latter, reacting against Lachmann's law as a phonetic rule, preferred to see in *lēctus* etc. the analogical influence of the long-vowel perfect active *lēgī* etc. In *lēctus* "ist das *e* die individuelle Folge einer Formübertragung, wodurch die *e* . . . aus einer ursprünglich enger begrenzten Formensphäre im Lateinischen in anderweitige Bildungen derselben Wurzeln eindrang" (Osthoff, p. 113). And Kent states (*The Sounds of Latin* §185) that the long vowel in these forms is "essentially analogical to the long vowel in the perfect active: *rēctus* after *rēxī*, *visus* after *vidī*, *āctus* after **āgī*."

If the views of Kuryłowicz in general carry conviction where those of Osthoff and Kent have not done so hitherto, it is attributable to the new concept of the nature of analogical change that we owe to Kuryłowicz himself.¹⁰ Kuryłowicz's analogical transformations (as will appear below) are motivated, indeed virtually predetermined, by the position

⁸ *Language* 4 (1928) 181-190, cf. also *The Sounds of Latin* (Language Monographs 12, Baltimore 1932) 185.

⁹ *Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanischen* (Strassburg 1884).

¹⁰ "La nature des procès dits 'analogiques,'" *Acta Linguistica* 5 (1949) 15-37, reprinted in his *Esquisses linguistiques* (Wrocław-Kraków 1960) 66-86.

of the forms in a morphological structure. Yet at the same time certain inconsistencies remain, which warrant a reexamination of the problem.

Kuryłowicz distinguishes between two groups of forms showing lengthened vowel in the past participle, which we will treat in the reverse order. His second group contains the three forms *pāctus*, *tāctus*, *frāctus*. Here he considers the length in *pāctus* an archaism, directly equatable with the long vowel of Gk. (πήγνυμι) πηκτός Dor. *pāktós*. The pattern *pangō pāctus* would then have been imitated by the rhyme forms *tangō* and *frangō*, whence *tāctus*, *frāctus*.

The full grade in the *-tō-* participle of *TĒT-* roots in Greek, cf. *pāktós*, *ῥήκτός*, *τρωκτός*, may well be an archaism; this view is supported indirectly by the long vowel of the participles in **-e/onó-* (: *-tō-*) of the Germanic seventh class, e.g., Goth. **letans*, ON *látinn*, OE (*ge-*)*lātan* 'let,' and by certain Vedic forms.¹¹ But it would appear that this pattern was not found in Latin. For if the root **wrēg-*: **wrag-* (Gk. *πήγνυμι*: *ἐρράγην*) makes **wrēg-tō-* (Hom. *ῥηκ-τός*), we should then expect **dhēk-*: **dhak-* (Lat. *fēc-ī*: *fac-iō*) to make **dhēk-to-* rather than **dhak-to-* (Lat. *factus*). Similarly contrast the nonmotivated and therefore all the more probative Lat. *lassus* < **lad-to-* versus ON *látinn* < **lēd-eno-*. It would therefore seem prudent not to allow the explanation offered by Kuryłowicz for *pāctus*, *tāctus*, *frāctus*, and to seek another more consonant with the facts of Latin itself. We shall return to this point further below.

For his second group, Kuryłowicz notes that the Latin conjugational system is dominated by two oppositions: *infectum/perfectum* and *active/passive*. In each case the fundamental (unmarked) or founding member (*forme de fondation*) of the opposition is on the left: *infectum* (= present, for our purposes), *active*. The relations may be displayed as follows:

pres. act.	→	perf. act.
↓		↓
pres. pass.	→	perf. pass.

It is precisely in such doubly motivated or "founded" forms as here the perfect passive that we may expect an analogical transformation. Hence

<i>legit</i>	→	<i>lēgit</i>
↓		↓
<i>legitur</i>	→	<i>*lectus (est) > lēctus (est).</i>

¹¹ For the last, see Kuryłowicz, "Autour de v. ind. *śāsti* et *śādhati*," *Mélanges d'indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou* (Paris 1968) 433-437.

"Since in *lēgit* the lengthening of the *e* of the present is conditioned by the desinences of the active perfect, it is liable to be introduced before the endings of the passive perfect (*-tus, -ta, -tum, -tī, etc.*).” As an evident and exact parallel to this analogical transformation we can cite the example of

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \textit{cernit} & \rightarrow & \textit{crēvit} \\ \downarrow & & \downarrow \\ \textit{cernitur} & \rightarrow & \textit{crētus (est)}, \end{array}$$

where *crētus* has replaced the older *certus* (**kri-tos*), which survives only in an adjectival function divorced from the paradigm of *cernō* (**kri-n-*).

On this basis Kuryłowicz introduces his principle that the long vowel of the perfect active is introduced into the perfect passive (= participle in *-tus*) "in all cases where the root of the perfect in *-ī* represents the lengthening of the root of the present."

Kuryłowicz in this way accounts for the forms

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \textit{legere} & : & \textit{lēgit} : \textit{lēctus} \\ \textit{edere} & : & \textit{ēdit} : \textit{ēsus} \\ \textit{vidēre} & : & \textit{vīdit} : \textit{vīsus} \\ (\textit{ōdium}) & : & \textit{ōdit} : \textit{ōsus} \end{array}$$

and significantly

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \textit{emere} & : & \textit{ēmīt} : \textit{ēemptus} \\ \textit{venīre} & : & \textit{vēmī} : \textit{*vēntus} > \textit{ventus} \end{array}$$

from roots in final nasal. The difference in the treatment of *m* and *n* is to be attributed to the well-known tendency of *m* to pattern with obstruents rather than sonorants: cf. Russian *m:ml'* like *p:pl'*, Irish *m:ṽ* like *b:v*, or Southern Paiute *m:ŋ^w* like *p:β*. In **vēntus* we have a regular Latin shortening (or absence of lengthening) of historical long vowel before *n, l, r* + stop.

Kuryłowicz then introduces a secondary analogical spread of the lengthening, limited to (a) root in final *-g, -d, or -m* (the last without practical implementation) and (b) roots with perfect passive identical to present active and passive, whence

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \textit{regere} & : & \textit{rēctus} \\ \textit{tegere} & : & \textit{tēctus} \\ \textit{agere} & : & \textit{āctus} \\ \textit{cadere} & : & \textit{cāsus}. \end{array}$$

The problem with this explanation is clearly its complexity, which is increased in his tertiary analogical layer *fundere:fūdīt:fūsus*, whence

tundere: tutudit: tūsus. There appears furthermore no clear reason why we should have lengthening in *fund-: fūsus* but not in *find-: fissus*.

Kuryłowicz is left with *sedēre: sēdit: -sessus* (the simplex is not found) which he regards as only an apparent objection, since the relation in composition was *-sidēo: -sēdit: -sessus*, which prevented the interpretation of *sēd-* as the lengthening of *sid-*. This is unconvincing, since the lengthening may well antedate the weakening of *e* to *i* in internal syllables. Kuryłowicz then adds in a footnote that "still better" is Sommer's explanation that *-sessus* was originally referred not to *sedeō* but to *sīdō*. But this begs the question, since *sīdō* likewise makes a perfectum *sēdī*; nor is there any evidence in the texts (cf. Neue-Wagener) to support Sommer's view.

Kuryłowicz then goes on to maintain a phonetic condition "in spite of contrary opinions," namely that this development was limited to root final Indo-European voiced stops, and not the continuants (fricatives) that resulted from the Indo-European voiced aspirates. Thus

<i>fodere</i>	:	<i>fōdit</i>	:	<i>fossus</i>
<i>gradī</i>	:		:	<i>*grassus</i> > <i>grassārī</i>
<i>trahere</i>	:	<i>tractus</i>		
<i>vehere</i>	:	<i>vectus</i>		
<i>iubēre</i>	:	<i>iussus</i> ,		

all of which contain root final **dh* or **gh*. This is unsatisfactory; for *fōdit*, regardless of the final consonant (**fōd-* or **fōp-*), ought to have produced **fōsus* by the original rule, being a case where the root of the perfect represents the lengthening of the root of the present. But for the others in this list there is no motivation for the lengthening anyway; not having vocalic length as the unique mark of the perfect active, they can be discounted entirely, as irrelevant to the argument.

This completes the review of Kuryłowicz's paper; its enduring merit is to demonstrate and motivate the morphological character of the change. On the other hand, a number of genuine difficulties remain, some of which have been pointed out. It is my contention that his formulation can be improved upon, within the same morphological context, but with all phonological constraints removed from the operation of the rule.

Let us assume the correctness of Kuryłowicz's morphological model of the relations in markedness *present* → *perfect* and *active* → *passive*. Hence the perfect active founds the perfect, and the situation is primed for the application of Kuryłowicz's analogical transformation, the introduction of a lengthened root vowel where the lengthening of the

root vowel is the distinctive mark of the perfect active vis-à-vis the present. This will explain (with Kuryłowicz)

<i>leg-(it)</i>	: <i>lēg-(it)</i>	: <i>lēctus</i>
<i>ed-</i>	: <i>ēd-</i>	: <i>ēsus</i>
<i>em-</i>	: <i>ēm-</i>	: <i>ēemptus</i>
<i>(od-)</i>	: <i>ōd-</i>	: <i>ōsus</i>

but also other cases which he attributed to a secondary and complex analogy:

<i>reg-</i>	: <i>rēg-</i>	: <i>rēctus</i>
<i>teg-</i>	: <i>*tēg-</i>	: <i>tēctus</i> .

Compare archaic *surēgit* 'surrexit' in Livius Andronicus (Festus 380, 381), and for **tēgit* the parallel formation of *rēgula* and *tēgula*.¹² It can furthermore be assumed that primary verbs with initial short vowel in Latin lengthened that vowel in the perfectum. Hence, exactly like *ēmī* and *ōdī*,

<i>ag-</i>	: <i>*āg-</i>	: <i>āctus</i> ,
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with the **āg-* recurring in ON *ók* 'went' and possibly the Armenian aorist *aci* 'I drove.' This **āgī* was later replaced by *ēgī* on the pattern of *faciō fēcī*. The same view is assumed by Benveniste, *Archivum Linguisticum* 1 (1949) 17-18, and by Kent (above, n. 7). We can thus account by the original rule for three of the four forms for which Kuryłowicz required a complicated analogical mechanism.

One may observe further that we have omitted one of Kuryłowicz's examples, *vidēre:vidit:visus*, because it was not a root with long-vowel perfect at the prehistoric period of the formation of the perfect passive participle. Rather we had in *vidī* the diphthongal **weid-*, after which was created **weid-to- > *weisso-* (> *vīsus*), a formation identical with, though independent of, Gmc. **wissaz* in English *wise*, Goth. *un-weis*. The same is assumed by Ernout and Meillet s.v. *uideō*. Two cases of roots with original diphthong appear to have followed the model of *vīsus* outright; the rhyme forms *dīvīsus* and *gāvīsus*.

It has long been recognized that the Latin perfect has reduplication where apophony is not possible, e.g., where the root vowel is *a*.¹³ For the roots in *a*, then, there was originally complete equivalence between the long-vowel perfect (to roots in initial vowel) and the reduplicated

¹² See in greater detail on these two my *Indo-European Origins of the Celtic Verb* (Dublin 1962) 31-35, with references to earlier literature.

¹³ For the principle, cf. Ernout and Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*⁴ s.v. *canō*.

perfect (to roots in initial consonant).¹⁴ The equivalence, then, of *ag-: *āg-* (*ēgī*) and *pa(n)g-: *pepag-* (*pepigī*) is sufficient to produce *pāctus* after *āctus*, and similarly (**fefrag-*) *frāctus*, (**tetag-*) *tāctus*, (**kekad-*) *cāsus*.¹⁵ It is thus not necessary to invoke an inherited **pākto*—clearly dubious in Latin. Note finally that the shortening (or absence of lengthening) of long vowel before resonant plus stop explains (**kekan-*) *cantus*, (**pepar-*) *partus*, like (*vēn-*) *ventus*.

Roots in initial vowel, with long-vowel perfect, involve initial *a-* (**āgī*), *e-* (*ēmī*), and *o-* (*ōdī*). But there are no cases in Latin involving lengthening of the high vowels initial *i-* and *u-*. In *icō: icī: ictus* we have in the first place the same vocalism in active present and perfect, and in the second place probably an original diphthong, cf. the reading *eicit* in the Ambrosianus of Plautus *Miles* 205. The etymology is uncertain. Lat. *vidī* has, as we have seen, an old diphthong. It is this absence of old lengthened vowel perfects in *ī* and *ū* that explains why we have a short vowel in *scissus*, *fissus*, *strictus*; it has nothing to do with the high (diffuse) character of the vowel.

These are indications that *fundō: fūsus* and *tundō: tūsus* are late creations in Latin. Plautus has at *Pseud.* 369 *pertussum*, with a short vowel which exactly parallels *scissus*, and in any case *tūsus* varies with the late *tūnsus*, where the lengthening is automatic before *ns*. Paulus ex Festo has (71) *exfuti* glossed *effusi*, which suggests strongly that the old participle of *fundō* was *futus*, an inherited form corresponding exactly to Gk. *χυτός*.¹⁶ The latter is already an archaism in the Homeric tradition, occurring in the verse-final formula *χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα κάλυπτοι* Z 464, with variants at E 114, Ψ 256, and γ 258. *Fūdī* has an old diphthong and presumably served as model for the new *fūsus*.

The only real counterexamples to Kuryłowicz's rule are the two cases where it ought to have applied and did not; where the perfect active represents the lengthening of the root vowel of the present but the perfect passive still shows a short vowel. The cases are *fodiō: fōdī: fossus* and *sedeō: sēdī: -sessus*.

If *fōdī* had existed — whether as *fōð-* (*fōþ-*) or *fōd-* is irrelevant — it

¹⁴ Reduplicated and long-vowel perfects are in complementary distribution according to the structure of the root in Celtic as well, though the principle governing their repartition is there different.

¹⁵ For the virtual reduplicated **fefrag-* (Lat. *frēgī*) cf. OIr. *bebraig* 'broke wind'; Latin eliminated the reduplication in roots with initial consonant cluster, except for *s* plus stop.

¹⁶ Note the archaic unassimilated cluster *-xf-* in *exfuti*, which recurs notably in *exfociont* = *effugiunt* on the Columna Rostrata: a further index of the genuinely archaic character of the latter inscription; cf. *Celtica* 6 (1963) 8–9.

would have produced **fōsus*. The implication is clear: *fōdī* did not exist at the time of the operation of the rule. Morphology supports this; there is no justification for a long vowel in *fōdī* as an old form, and no such category existed in Indo-European. Latin *fōdī* is the analogical form, created after the model of *ōdī*, and *fossus* preserves the ancient independence of the -*tó*- verbal adjective: **bhōdh*-(*yo*-): **bhōdh*-to-like *morior*: *mort(u)s*.

As has been noted, the participle -*sessus* occurs only in composition: *īnsessus*, *possessus*, etc. But what is important to point out is what *does* occur in the simple, uncompounded verb: the supine. Plautus and Cicero have examples of the phrase *sessum ire* "to go sit down"; it is both archaic and classical usage.¹⁷

Now Kuryłowicz's rule requires lengthening in the perfect passive, the *forme fondée*, after the lengthened vowel of the perfect active, the *forme de fondation*. But the supine is neither perfect nor passive. It is aspectually neutral, and active in voice. Hence the supine will be unaffected by the analogical pressure of the form of the perfect active, for it is outside the morphological and semantic structure of the latter forms. Thus, despite the existence of *sēdī*, we have the short vowel in *sessum*, as the completely regular reflex of the underlying base form **sed-tu*-.

This view is entirely confirmed by an isolated form in Latin, which has to my knowledge never been introduced into the discussion over Lachmann's law. We have an identically formed supine in the expressions *pessum ire* 'to fall, be ruined' and *pessum dare* 'to ruin, destroy.' Here *pessum* reflects **ped-tu*-, supine of a verbal root **ped*- meaning "to fall," with numerous cognates in Indo-European (Skt. *padati*, OCS *padq*, OE *fetan*), which appears in Latin also as the base of the adjectives *peior*, *pessimus*.

These two examples together constitute irrefutable evidence that no phonetic conditioning whatsoever is involved in Lachmann's law. That "law" simply states that at a certain period in the prehistory of Latin, the morphological expression of the perfect passive assumed an accessory mark of vocalic length, there where that same vocalic length served as the distinctive mark of the perfect active. When this relation could not hold true, as in the supine *sessum*, no lengthening took place.

But, on the basis of the normal identity of supine and perfect passive (except in *stātum* vs. *status*), the supine *sessum* served as the model for

¹⁷ Plautus *Rud.* 707, cf. *Poen.* 10, 20; Cicero *De nat. deor.* 3.74, cf. *De senect.* 63. To the supine in the simplex add the future participle *sessurus* (Livy 23.19.14) which is built on it.

the creation of the new *-sessus* in transitive compounds. The true passive value (resulting from the transformation of a transitive active) of *-sessus* is itself finally an index of the recent character of its formation. For, to judge from the consistent Rig-Vedic value of *sattá-* as "seated," in the formulaic expression *sattó hótā* 'the sacrificer (is) seated' (1.105.14, 2.36.6, 3.41.2, 7.56.18, always in verse-initial), the original value of a *-tó-* participle to the root **sed-* would have been active and intransitive.¹⁸

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¹⁸ For this Latin uses the present participle *sedens*. I hope to treat elsewhere the formulaic phrasal collocations involving *sedens*, Umbrian *zeréf*, Vedic *sattáh*, in the spheres of law and religion (ritual) in the respective cultures, which represent an inheritance from Indo-European times.

ON THE FAMILY OF *arceō*, ἀρκέω,
AND HITTITE *hark-*

CALVERT WATKINS

ARCEŌ is the primary verbal representative in Latin of a group of derivatives in Latin, Greek, Armenian, and Hittite, from a root which goes back to Indo-European times. The root is **₂ork-* (**₂erk-*), appearing as **ark-* in the Southern Indo-European languages; it is one of the clearest cases where Hittite preserves the initial laryngeal.

The oldest meaning of *arceō* is "contain, hold in, enclose"; it is glossed as *continere* in Paulus ex Festo 14.18. From this meaning developed that of "hold off," *prohibere* (P.F. 14.24); Ernout and Meillet in their dictionary compare French *contenir l'ennemi*, an example equally valid for English. The basic meaning "hold in" shows clearly in two nominal forms of the root: *arx* 'stronghold' and *arca* 'chest, container.'

A reflex of this older semantic value appears in the old tradition reported in Festus 452.4: *sunt, qui dicant, post urbem a Gallis liberatam, ob inopiam cibatus, coeptos sexaginta annorum homines iaci in Tiberim, ex quo numero unus, filii pietate occultatus, saepe profuerit patriae consilio, sub persona filii. Id ut sit cognitum, ei iuueni esse ignotum, et sexagenariis uita concessa. Latebras autem eius, quibus arcuerit senem, id est cohibuerit et celauerit, sanctitate dignas esse uisas, ideoque Arcaeae appellata.* Whether the name *Arcaeae* was invented after the fact or *arcere* was assimilated to a previously existing name is irrelevant; The tale still attests *arcere* in the meaning "enclose, conceal."¹

¹ The tradition itself is likely to be genuine. See most recently G. Devoto, "L'uccisione dei vecchi e il lessico indoeuropeo," *MNHNHΞ XAPIN* 1 (Vienna 1956) 93-99, with references to earlier literature, in particular Schrader (-Nehring), *Reallexikon d. idg. Altertumskunde* s.v. Alte Leute. The expression *sexagenarios de ponte* was indeed a proverb; cf. Varro *ap.* Nonius 523.22. Compare also Paul. Fest. 66.5 *de pontani senes appellabantur, qui sexagenarii de ponte deiciebantur*, and Varro, *Sat. Menipp.* p. 218.3 Riese, *acciti sumus ut depontaremur*. On the other hand, I suspect that *pons* here does not refer to a bridge over the Tiber or anywhere else but rather preserves its original sense of "path, way, crossing, franchissement" as discussed by Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris 1966) 297-298. It is the "path of life" from which the old are forced, *pánthām pítṛyānam* 'den väterbegangenen Weg,' *Rig Veda* 10.2.7.

From the formal point of view *arceō* shows the stative suffix *-ē-* (**ark-ē-*), widespread in Indo-European languages in verbs meaning "to hold, to have": Lat. *habēre*, *tenēre*, Old High German *habēn*, Old Church Slavonic *iměti*, Lithuanian *turėti* 'have,' *terėti* 'hold.'² The semantic value of the stative formation is here in a sense comparable to the nominal periphrasis in such a phrase as English *get hold of*.

The feminine root noun *arx* is by its very form an archaism; the athematic noun stem *ark-* has survived in no other Indo-European language but may be compared directly with the Hittite athematic verb stem *hark-*.

The archaic character of the noun *arx* is assured as well by its appearance in an archaic Roman verbal formula which appears frequently in texts from the republican period. The oldest form is attested in an old ritual oath preserved in Paulus ex Festo 102.11: *lapidem silicem tenebant iuraturi per Iovem, haec verba dicentes: "Si sciens fallo, tum me Dispiter salva urbe arceque bonis eiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem."* (This formula shows a number of other early stylistic features as well, which militate for its genuine antiquity, like *sciens*³ and the connective *tum*, the latter used as in the *Euhemerus* of Ennius.)

The formula recurs in Caecilius 145 R. *salva urbe atque arce*, with a renewal of the conjunction characteristic of Archaic Latin: the passage *X(-que) Y-que* (Common Indo-European and Archaic Latin) to *X atque Y* (in Archaic Latin) where *atque* virtually always — and only — joins two words which are grammatically parallel. The older phrase is *urbe arceque*, and it is noteworthy that Livy uses *urbem arcemque* three times (24.38.6, 31.45.7, 37.37.2). The alternative and linguistic historically later formula with *et* is found already in Ennius, Sc. 88 V. = Trag. 77 R.: *arce et urbe*. But here the introduction of the conjunction *et*, not *-que*, is clearly due to metrical considerations, the cretics *arce et urbe orba sum / quo accidam, quo applicem*. Note also Livy 4.61.9 *diruta et arce et urbe*, a poetic antithesis of *salva urbe arceque*.

Another likely archaic derivative is the augural term *arcula*, in Paulus ex Festo 15.11: *arcula dicebatur auis quae in auspiciis aliquid*

² The relevance of the *-ē-* suffix in *arcēre* was pointed out by V. V. Ivanov, *Obščeeindoevropskaja, praslavjanskaja, i anatolijskaja jazykovye sistemy* (Moscow 1965) 70, hereafter abbreviated *Obšč. sist.*

³ Thus *si sciens fallo* recalls the *siqui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit* of the *Leges Regiae* (Numa 12 Bruns). A similar and nonliterary formula is epigraphically attested in the dialectal inscription from Spoleto (Ernout 64) *seiquis scies violasit dolo malo*. Finally, we have a participial formation also in Oscan from the *Tabula Bantina* (Vetter 2.5): *deivatud sipus . . . perum dolom mallom* 'iurato sciens . . . sine dolo malo.'

uetabat fieri. The suffix *-ula* here marks an agent noun or adjective suffix, as in *credulus*, *bibulus*, *tremulus*. The type is inherited, and old. Note that *arcula* is built directly on an old stem *ark-* rather than on *ark-ē-*.

Ernout–Meillet cite Armenian *argel* ‘prevention,’ in *argel arnel / tal* ‘to prevent,’ literally “to make/give hindrance,” from **ark-elo-*, and its denominative *argelum* (aor. *argeli*) ‘I prevent,’ stating that it agrees with *arceō* in sense, but that “the suffix *-el-* does not recur in Latin.” I suggest rather that it does recur precisely in the archaic augural term *arcula*, from an adjective **ark-e/olo-*. The semantic match is virtually perfect, the Armenian form meaning “prevention” and the Latin noting “the preventer, the preventing bird.” The relation between agent noun or adjective *-elo-* in *arcula* ‘preventing’ and action noun *-elo-* in Arm. *argel* is the same as that between the agentive adjectives in numerous Indo-European languages and the Armenian infinitive in *-el* (**-elo-*) from an action noun. Indeed, while *argel* functions as a substantive in Armenian, it could formally be the infinitive of a verb **argem* and doubtless was originally such a derivative of the athematic verbal root **ark-*.

For other derivatives, some of which may be quite old, like *arcera* ‘covered carriage’ (XII Tab.) and the gromatic term *ager arcifinius* “qui nulla mensura continetur,”⁴ see especially Ernout–Meillet s.vv. *arca*, *arceō*, *arx*.

At present most of the handbooks are agreed that the family of Gk. ἀρκέω ‘ward off’ is related to the Latin group of *arceō*. Compare the Greek etymological dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine, the Latin of Walde–Hofmann and Ernout–Meillet (in the fourth edition; the third, presumably reflecting Meillet’s view, is more reserved). V. V. Ivanov, *Obšč. sist.* 69 n. 48, accepts the equation, while A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 66, rejects it.

The Greek family in Homeric times includes the following forms: of ἀρκέω, only the sigmatic future ἀρκέσει (*Φ* 131, *π* 261) and aorist ἤρκεσε. The latter, however, occurs always in one of the two formulas in line-final position, ἤρκεσε (λυγρόν) ὄλεθρον and ἤρκεσε θώρηξ, and is therefore probably old. The single present stem form ἀπὸ χροὸς ἤρκει ὄλεθρον (*N* 440) is clearly a variant of the aorist in ἀπὸ χροὸς ἤρκεσ’.

⁴ Frontinus p. 2.8 (*Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, ed. Thulin). As Thurneysen notes in the *Thesaurus*, s.v., the formation of this word is not clear. Probably it contains *arcere* in the old sense of “contain, hold in”; at any rate the suggestion of Kubitschek, *RE* I 789, that it is derived from military bulwarks (*arces*) set up at the boundaries (*fines*) is certainly wrong.

ὄλεθρον (O 534) and has no independent value. Otherwise Homer shows the personal name Ἀρκεσίλαος, the epithet (of somewhat uncertain meaning and doubtless old) ποδάρκης, and the adjective ἄρκιος 'sure, certain, to be counted on.' The neuter *s*-stem noun ἄρκος underlying the composition form -αρκής is found in Alcaeus, and it is noteworthy that like ἥρκεσε in Homer it refers to the protection afforded the warrior by his armor: κνάμιδες, ἄρκος ἰσχύρω βέλεος (Z 34 Lobel-Page).

The *s*-stem noun is ancient, on the evidence of the adjective, *pace* Frisk; there is no need to assume a deverbative noun. The question arises whether ἄρκέω is a denominative to ἄρκος; Chantraine poses the question but gives no answer. I suggest the answer is yes — but with the specific remark that the channel for the formation of a denominative from the *s*-stem noun was precisely the sigmatic stems of the verb, in particular the aorist. The passage is direct from ἄρκεσ- (ἄρκος) to ἄρκεσ-σ- (ἥρκεσε). It is the post-Homeric present ἄρκέω (first in Aeschylus) that is the back-formation, to the aorist, which is itself a denominative built on ἄρκος.

This derivational history, *s*-stem noun → *s*-aorist verb in the formation of a denominative, parallels somewhat the derivational history *reduplicated perfect verb* → *reduplicated noun* in the formation of deverbatives. See Benveniste's analysis, *BSL* 59 (1964) 31–32, of ὄπωπα → ὀπωπή, ὄδωδα → ὀδωδή, as well as Chantraine, *ibid.* 21.

We can thus account for the absence in Homer in the case of ἄρκέω of the characteristic predominance of present stem forms to denominatives in -εω, -αω, for which cf. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* 363. And in view of this derivational history, there can be no question of equating Latin *arceō* with Gk. ἄρκέω (so Frisk).⁵

We are left with an old form in Greek with primary suffix, ἄρκ-εσ-. At the same time, as Chantraine points out, the secondary derivative ἄρκιος (with unassibilated *κι*), semantically divergent from and independent of ἄρκος, ἄρκέω, attests the importance in Greek pre-history of the stem ἄρκ-, identical with Latin *arc-*, Armenian *arg-*, and Hittite *hark-*.

The comparison of *arceō* with Hittite *hark-* 'to hold, have' was first

⁵ Further arguments against such an equation of the two, if they were needed, are the Latin stem *arc-ē-* with a stative suffix not found in the Greek present; the difference in construction, the Greek taking acc. rei and dat. pers. while the Latin usually acc. pers. and abl. rei; and the semantic variation, the Latin verb for example never occurring in the characteristic early Greek expression of the armor warding off (a missile) from a man.

made by Holger Pedersen,⁶ and has generally been accepted since then.⁷ Semantically, the Latin verb preserved the older meaning, as noted by Kammenhuber and Ivanov. The Hittite verb has developed a more generalized sense of “hold, keep,” whence the value “have” as an auxiliary verb, *habeo factum*, a periphrastic perfect.⁸

Formally *hark-* is an old athematic present, comparable in stem formation only to Latin *arx*. It has, however, the notable peculiarity that the final stop consonant of the root disappears before an ending beginning with a consonant: paradigm (sg.) *har-mi har-ši har-zi*, (pl.) *har-weni har-teni hark-anzi*. Rather than assume an irregular sound change in a form of notable frequency, as does Pedersen, I prefer to regard this as a genuine root alternation *har-* ~ *hark-* secondarily distributed to consonantal and vocalic endings respectively. In this way *har(k)-* would be comparable in type to the (unrelated!) Armenian present stem *hark-anem* ‘I strike’ but aorist *hari*, 3 sg. *ehar*, from *ḡor(g)-*. Michael Silverstein compares also the Greek type ἔθηκα ~ ἔθεμεν.

The Hittite verb *harzi*, *hark-* is attested with numerous preverbs, of which the most interesting from the formal point of view — because of its unique character — is *pē hark-* ‘hinhalten; have along, have with one.’⁹ The verb is unique in that here alone in Hittite have we the preverb *pē* in quasi-independent status, separated from its main verb by a word-boundary (space on the tablets). Syntactically, in New Hittite, *pē* is an adverb; *pē hark-* is exactly parallel to *aššu hark-* ‘hold in favor,’ *hanza hark-* ‘have peace (?)’, *menahhanda hark-* ‘hold in view,’ as well as the participial type *tarhan hark-* ‘hold subjected, in submission’ (Lat. *domitum habere*), as analyzed with such insight by Benveniste (n. 8 above). The Hittite preverb *pē* has been discussed most fully in Ivanov, *Obšč. sist.* 222–226. Its normal fate in Anatolian is to be fused with the verb, already in the prehistoric period, as attested in particular by the verb “to give,” Hittite *pai-* < **pē* + *ai-*. The root **ai-* is preserved in Gk. αἶσα,¹⁰ αἴνυμαι, and Tocharian B *ai-*. But the

⁶ A. Götze and H. Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung* 50.

⁷ Most recently A. Kammenhuber, *KZ* 77 (1961) 66, and Ivanov, *Obšč. sist.* 69.

⁸ The development of the auxiliary is treated in detail by Benveniste, *Hittite et indo-européen* (Paris 1962) 41–65, with an important analysis of the parallel development of an auxiliary in Latin.

⁹ The English translation is that of G. Bechtel, *Hittite Verbs in -sk-* 96.

¹⁰ The divinized *Αἶσα* forms with *Πόρος* an Indo-European pair of third function divinities, “Part” and “Apportionment,” in Alcman’s Partheneion; cf. L. R. Palmer, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* (1950) 149–168, and *Mélanges Niedermann*

fusion of verb and preverb is already common Anatolian, as attested by Old Hittite *pai-*, *piya-*, Luvian *piya-*, Hieroglyphic Luvian *pia-*, Lycian *pijete* = Luvian *piyatta* 'dedit,' Lydian *bi-*. Luvian iterative *pīpi-šša-* and Lycian *pībīje-* even show initial reduplication, as Ivanov points out, which proves that the value as preverb of the initial *p-* had been altogether lost.

A further proof of the antiquity of *pē*, brought out by Ivanov (*Obšč. sist.* 76, 224) is the correlation of the opposed pair of preverbs *pē-* and *u-* (more or less *hin* and *her*) in Hittite, with the same opposition of preverbs in Balto-Slavic: Slavic *po-*, *pa-*, and *u-*, Lithuanian and Old Prussian *pa-*, *po-*, and OPruss. *au-*. There is a dramatic equation — in view of the time gap of nearly four thousand years — between Old Hittite *paizzi* 'goes': *uezzi* 'comes,' **pē-eiti*:**au-eiti*, and modern Russian (infinitive) *pojti* 'go': *ujti* 'come,' **po-ei*:**au-ei*.

The etymological correspondence of Balto-Slavic *pō* with Hittite *pē* was pointed out independently by Ivanov, *Vopr. Slav. jaz.* 2 (1957) 25, and Benveniste, *Hittite et indo-eur.* (1962) 32–33. The latter compared the archaic apophony of Italic and Celtic **dē* (Lat. *dē*, OIr. *dī-*) with Slavic *do*, and the same archaism is noted by Ivanov in his later discussion (*Obšč. sist.* 225). Ivanov's invocation of the pair of preverbs **pō/pē* and **au* in both Anatolian and Balto-Slavic, as a feature of Indo-European dialectology, deserves to be extended by Latin. Both preverbs are found in Latin as fossilized archaisms: **po-* in *pōnō* (*po* + *sinō*) *po-situs*, originally "set aside,"¹¹ and *polubrum* 'washbasin' (Livius Andr., Fabius Pictor, Festus) **po-lou(ə)-dhro-*;¹²

(*Coll. Latomus* 23 [1965] 259). They agree exactly with the Slavic pair, Old Russian *Dažbbož* and *Stribož*, and the Rig Vedic pair *Aṃśa* and *Bhaga*, with the same semantics, "Share" and "Apportionment." In view of the development of Indo-Iranian **bhaga-* to the meaning "god" (*baga-*) in Iranian — diffused into Slavic *bogъ* — one might see an original elliptical dual in the Gathic cognate of *Aṃśa*. Yasna 31.2 *mazdā ayā qsayā*, literally "mindful of these two shares," would be then "mindful of *Aśa* 'Share' and the equivalent of Indic *Bhaga* 'Appointment,'" in a pre-Zoroastrian system. There is no evidence for a dualistic interpretation of *qsa* as the good and the bad lot, and the elliptical dual in a divine pair would be like Vedic *Mitrā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa' and Gk. *Αἰαντε*.

¹¹ Cf. Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym. lat.*⁴ s.v.: *mettre à l'écart*.

¹² This form, from the root "to wash, pour water" (*lauō*, *λούω*, Hitt. *lahu-* (*wai*)-: **lozu-*, metathesized to **louz-*), is ancient, in view of the forms with the parallel suffix **-tro-*. Cf. Gk. *λοετρόν* and Mycenaean *lewotrokhowo-* 'λοετροχός,' as well as Old Irish trisyllabic *loathar* 'basin,' Old Breton *louazr* < **louz-tro-*. See Ivanov, *Obšč. sist.* 105–107, and Benveniste, *Hitt. et i.-e.* 14–15. Slavic and Baltic (Old Prussian) replaced the root **louz-* by the root **mouz-/mū-*; compare Common Slavic **mydlo* (Czech *mydlo* 'soap') from **mū-dhlo-* with a

**au-* in *auferō* and *aufugiō*. For the one other sure case of *po-* in Latin see below.

If we have all these formal and functional indices of archaism in Hittite *pē-* and its ancient compounds, there is all the more reason to regard as ancient the one compound of *pē* where it appears as a semi-independent word: *pē ḫark-*.

Synchronically in New Hittite, *pē* is an adverb which must immediately precede the verb *ḫark-*; cf. the compounds with other localizing preverbs *arḫa pē ḫark-*, *piran pē ḫark-*, *sarā pē ḫark-*, as discussed by Ivanov. Yet Ivanov makes the important observation that *pē* originally behaved like other preverbs, on the evidence of the tmesis in *pē-pat ḫarkanzi* 'they hold' (enclitic particle *-pat*, cf. Lat. *-pte*)¹³ of the ritual text ABoT 25 I 26. Though syntactically reevaluated in the historical period, and therefore doubtless also semantically, Hittite *pē ḫark-* thus preserves an archaic collocational compound of preverb and verb.

The collocation is older than Hittite. We have seen that the Hittite simple verb *ḫark-* 'to have, hold' corresponds precisely to the root of Latin *arc-ēre* and that the Latin form preserves the more archaic meanings, "hold in," "hold off." Just as Hittite shows the ancient and isolated compound *pē ḫark-*, so Archaic Latin preserves for us the same compound in cognate form in *porcēre* from **po-arcēre*, the one other sure attestation in the Latin language of this preverb.

Porcere is confined to archaic authors and the lexicographical and grammatical tradition in Latin. Paul. Fest. 14.24 has *arcere prohibere est ... porcet quoque dictum ab antiquis, quasi porro arcet*. Our only literary attestations of the word are assembled by Nonius 159.38ff, with citations from Pacuvius, Accius, Ennius (Sc.), Varro, and Lucilius. The recurrent alliterative phrase *porcet pudor* in both Pacuvius and Ennius should be noted, as well as Lucilius' *porro procedere porcent*. While reasonably widely diffused in the early period, *porcere* is clearly an archaism harking back to an older system of poetics.

variant of the same instrumental suffix *-tro-*, *-dthro-*. Since we can observe the preservation of the Balto-Slavic preverb *au-* but at the same time the replacement of the original, inherited root in OPruss. *au-lāut* 'to die' beside Slavic *u-mrěti* 'to die' (**au-mer-*), it is tempting to see in the common Balto-Slavic **au-mū-* 'to wash,' OCS *u-myti* 'to wash,' OPruss. *au-mūsnan* 'washing,' a replacement of a compound **au-lou₂-* which would parallel the **po-lou₂-* of Lat. *polubrum*. Compare perhaps Old Russian *u-myti* and *po-myti*, both glossed *omyt'* ("wash, bathe") in Sreznevskij, *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka*.

¹³ On the semantics of this particle, related also to the group of Lat. *potis*, Gk. δεσπότης, see Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* 301-307.

In the equation Hittite *pē ḫark-*:Latin *po + arcēre > porcēre*, with agreement both in root and in preverb, each an anomaly in its own system, we have a classic case of what Meillet regarded as probative in historical linguistics: agreement in “les procédés particuliers d’expression de la morphologie.”¹⁴

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¹⁴ *La méthode comparative en linguistique historique* 24 (Oslo 1925).

THE SILENCE OF *MAGNA MATER*

DOUGLAS J. STEWART

IN a reasonably well-run universe exegesis should precede commentary. And even if this ideal cannot always be perfectly followed in practice, it is the goal to shoot for. What can result when commentary outruns exegesis is well exemplified by the air of false finality Bailey's commentary¹ confides to those who consult it on the notorious *Magna Mater* passage in *De rerum natura* 2.600–645. Not only does Bailey reverse the logical order and comment at length on certain socio-religious information in the passage while subordinating the whole as a "digression";² he also throws frustrating obstacles in the path of satisfactory exegesis, for example by dealing with the provocative line 625 in a wholly literalistic manner³ dictated by his view of the passage as simply reportorial and not really poetry (which is to say, not as evaluative and connotative language), and again by constructing a baseless bit of history to explain in a nonpoetic sense — he seems desperate to avoid a poetic analysis — the appearance of the Cretan Curetai in a ritual supposedly of Phrygian origin.⁴ The question of highest priority, however, namely what the passage does in its setting, what exponential force it throws over the mere integers of assertion in the lines immediately preceding and following it — this question is not asked because, I think, Bailey considers that the passage requires only antiquarian comment; because it happens to give *us* information we might not otherwise have about a religious ceremony, he assumes that conveying the information was in fact the sole purpose of the passage and therefore as such, and nothing else, it receives his comment. And he provides this comment in such a way as to encourage a reading of the lines as a combination museum guidebook and rhetorical side-show, and even so as to cause himself to misapprehend the simple meaning of the text in one key place, as will be shown here.

¹ Cyril Bailey, ed., *T. Lucreti Cari De rerum natura...* (London 1947), vols. 2 and 3 (of 3). Vol. 2 cited hereafter as *Comm.*

² *Comm.*, p. 899: "it does not bear on the general argument of this section."

³ *Comm.*, p. 905: "There is no doubt an intentional contrast with the noise made by the worshippers . . . Lucretius is throwing himself into the mood of the worshippers and bystanders."

⁴ *Comm.*, p. 906.

The passage follows a handful of lines (589-597) that straightforwardly assert that the earth contains the "seeds" of all things that exist; no other source need be sought for the phenomena we encounter in nature, no matter how various they might at first appear. Then comes the *Magna Mater* passage. One would naturally expect it to sustain and amplify this abstractly stated principle; and it does up to a point — but then again it doesn't; it appears instead to indulge in a series of deliberate wild-goose chases. The descriptive lines of the passage are accompanied by a rationalist obligato: the several aspects of the scene are subjected to allegorical interpretations of its mythographic content that to some extent restate the previously announced principle — plus several other cosmological doctrines. Cybele in her cart signifies that the earth is suspended in air (a better bet: her motionless statue is surrounded by feverish and less than rational activity, but more of this later); the yoked lions signify the taming power (or just the power?) of the mother of all beings, and so on. But the trouble is that Lucretius takes it all back (644-645): allegorical interpretations are clever inventions of the *docti poetae Graium*, but not sound; and, he adds later (655-660), such adventures are at best an interesting waste of time.⁵

Now if these assiduously marshaled examples of the higher criticism are basically false, what are we to make of their appearance in the text at all? It is suggested that the lines are a jibe at Stoic attempts to accommodate myth to philosophy.⁶ This can be true without explaining very much. The passage is too fully orchestrated to be just a weakly motivated demonstration of the techniques of negative criticism of myth and the explainers of myth, and the disclaimer of 644-645 is hardly strong enough to remove from the reader's mind the cumulative effect of the explanations, regardless of their individual cogency. The reader is hardly satisfied with a brief remark that the listed rationalizations are useless and/or false; he is now quite eager to know, if possible, what rationalizations might be true and/or useful. And the myth, if not the rationalizations, is handled in a manner for which the term "high seriousness" might well have been coined, and no live reader would willingly acquiesce in the chilly veto of 644-645, nor is there much chance that Lucretius really expected him to. It is not unreason-

⁵ *Comm.*, pp. 899, 908.

⁶ *Comm.*, p. 899; cf. also Gerhard Mueller, *Die Darstellung der Kinetik bei Lukrez* (Berlin 1959) 45. (Mueller, p. 44, says that this passage is "voellig sachlich, ohne Ironie," which I can no more accept than I can Bailey's "digression.")

able, then, to surmise that we the readers are being invited to look elsewhere for a key to the parable, that we are being challenged to test our ingenuity against either Stoics or clever ancient poets or both.

Where to look? It seems to me, to the lines following our passage, especially to lines 651–865 (following the repetition from Book 1 of the stock lines about the pacific life of the divinities, 645–650). Severely compressed, the argument of these two-hundred-plus lines amounts to this: most of the things which actually go together to make up the data of our experience, color, sights, sounds, smells, etc., are in fact based on atomic structures, just as are “substantive” entities like plants and animals, but there is one important difference. The former class of “things” are in fact epiphenomena in nature.⁷ They are not ultimately part of the atomic system at all, in any sense: they are not things, they haven’t a nature in the same way a man or a cow or a tree has. Whereas what are now called the “primary qualities” — mass, weight, and shape — of physical objects have real correspondences at the level of atomic structures (atoms too have mass, weight, and shape), the “secondary qualities” of objects such as color, sounds, smells, and tastes are illusory in one way or another: either because we impose them upon the real merely as interpretive gestures or because they are transient, adventitious accidents of momentary atomic alignments (e.g., the colors of the surf changing from instant to instant, 765ff). If our sensation of “secondary qualities” as such were firmly based on reality, then there would have to be atoms that actually possessed them; but it would be tiresome, if not strictly absurd, to endow extremely small atoms with independent colors and smells. (Further on, 985ff, discussing sensations from the side of the sentient being rather than that of the thing sensed, Lucretius ridicules the parallel error, that of believing that atoms possess sensation, with the famous sarcasm about laughing and crying atoms.) No, the apparent reality of qualitative sensations at the secondary level is a deception, it is only epiphenomenal. These apparently real objects of sensation are utilitarian constructs we create and employ to render the workings of real nature manageable as as we pass through life and as congenial as possible for our self-consciousness. Nature in itself is deaf and dumb. The conscious is just a peculiar collocation of the unconscious (865ff).

Now our attention is redirected to the *Magna Mater* passage and specifically to line 625:

munificat *tacita* mortalis *muta* salute.

⁷ Cf. *Comm.*, pp. 917ff.

Why is Cybele silent? Why does she greet (or bless) mortals (not just men) with *tacita salus*? Because, I suggest, she is the mythical equivalent of the mute and noncommunicative nature of the atomic universe, spelled out in realistic terms in the lines following her appearance. She may bless men with goods of which she is the source, but she does so silently and indifferently. The essence of Epicurean materialism, strictly considered, is noncommunication. A pantheistic world, on the other hand, can be very comfortable and would have a natural appeal to a poet: one is not alone; everything shares our hopes, sensations, feelings, and even our fantasies; the whole world is alive with a natural democracy of feeling and aspiration (however obscured) among its parts. The Epicurean universe is a far sterner place: nothing responds of itself to men's needs or anxieties; man is just the chance creation of blind forces with no care for his comforts or for him. The earth is our mother, but not a kind or conscious one; we are not on speaking terms with her. While it is perfectly true that she produces shining crops and nourishing produce (594–596) for men's use and delight, it is ruled out by the demands of ideology that this is conscious or benevolent; it just happens. Put just this way, this fact may still constitute grounds for releasing men from superstitious fears based on a desire not to lose the favor, however once gained, of a benevolent higher power, but it also deprives man of spiritual communication with his own world.

But now our attention is pulled in two directions. The *Magna Mater* passage looks ahead to the somber logic of the second half of Book 2, but also backward to the consoling vision of Book 1; for it soon becomes clear that the overall natural force represented by Cybele is reminiscent, and not accidentally so, of Venus in the first lines of the poem. That is, while there are significant differences between the two divine apparitions, there are equally significant resemblances. For both Venus and Cybele are female principles of growth, life, increase, fertility, and even delight. Venus too ministers to living creatures and sees to their needs, populating the *terrae frugiferentes* (1.3) with all good things; she alone (*tu sola gubernas*, 1.21) rules the genetic economy of nature — at least for the duration of her appearance, just as Cybele is the sole responsible agent for birth (*nostri genetrix . . . corporis una*, 2.599) for the duration of her appearance.⁸

On the other hand, the differences, not so much of basic function as of idiom and style, between the two passages are portentous. Ob-

⁸ Cf. A. Traglia, *Sulla formazione spirituale di Lucrezio* (Rome 1948) 190ff.

viously they are two elaborately managed "epiphanies" of Nature itself, considered under alternative aspects, with both aspects affecting men, principally (Nature in the purely atomic sense is just herself and takes no interest in playing a mythical role). Venus appears as gliding over the world (almost flying, 1.2); she is active and vibrant;⁹ she almost seems to be giddy, anxious to communicate her power and her joy to her "subjects" (1.3ff). Cybele is a doublet of Venus in her literal functions, but her own epiphany is strictly ground-level, and she shuns activity, haste, and movement. Whereas Venus operates by invitation, inspiration, and quickening impulses, Cybele is laboriously hauled, inactive, through the cities of men, in contempt for the rumpus going on around her. Men whip themselves into frenzy to appeal to her, whereas Venus in Book 1 actively appeals to men and other creatures. (Bailey has noted the contrast between the worshipers' frenzies and the goddess' taciturnity but has made nothing of it, again because of his determination to reduce the passage to a piece of historical evidence about actual religious practice.)¹⁰ Of course Cybele is the earth itself. Venus is an aerial power enlivening the earth from above, or better, appealing to the life-force dwelling in the earth. The *Magna Mater* is her imagistic reciprocal, the quickened earth, fertile but heavy and slow, acted upon almost more than acting.

As such she is the central focus of Book 2: the silent, unresponsive face of nature, viewed strictly as an atomic configuration having no powers of communication, no grounds of sympathy and concern for men, their sensations, or their heartaches. As Professor De Lacy has shown,¹¹ this is implicit even in the opening lines of the book, usually taken in a far more optimistic way. Venus is the commanding presence of Book 1: the gregarious, impulsive, and communicative force. It is important to recognize that better than half of Book 1 is a work of reconciliation as well as a work of moral philosophy: reconciliation of man with nature, through dismissal of fear as the chief enemy, but as well the reconciliation of man with man; peace is the keynote, peace through frank and fair and natural communication. The enemies of peace are the ambitions that make men contend in politics, the ambitions and cruelty that make them contend in warfare, and the grotesque

⁹ Cf. F. Siemering, "Die Behandlung der Mythen und des Goetterglaubens bei Lukrez," *Prog. Koenigl. Realgymnasiums Tilsit* (1891) 14.

¹⁰ One might apply to Bailey's approach Giancotti's observation on too many treatments of Lucretius' mythical passages: "pecca d' unilateralità" (*Il Preludio di Lucrezio* [Florence 1959] 161).

¹¹ P. De Lacy, "Distant Views," *CJ* 60 (1964) 49ff, esp. 50-51.

combination of ambition, cruelty, and fanaticism that makes them engage even in human sacrifice. The Iphigeneia passage in Book 1 is as much an attack on war and ambition as on religion, of course.¹² And a significant aspect of the book's highly wrought treatment of communication is that between the goddess and her poet-professor-devotee, Lucretius. He hopes for the boon of golden eloquence (*aeternum da dictis, diva, leporem*, 1.28) because an inviting and delightful presentation of his arguments is essential to the task of rescuing his hearer from folly and darkness. Moreover, Venus is invoked specifically as a force for reconciliation and pacification *through speech* (39-40).

suavis ex ore loquellas
funde petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.

Venus is the representative of speech because she stands for Nature as a teaching and morally persuasive system. It is Nature after all that persuades men, through Lucretius, to make a moral reformation in their lives and reorder their goals and values. Her suit with Mars is a metaphor for Nature's suit with men distracted by the war, greed, politics, and neurosis that destroy the tranquillity of life and even life itself.

But this is not the whole story. Orthodoxy must be served. Book 1 in its overtones if not in its doctrinal formulations comes dangerously close to sentimental pantheism.¹³ Nature is in fact deaf and dumb: it has no real care for us, never consciously provides for our happiness or our reconciliation with herself or our brother. Happiness, in the strictest sense, is the little peace we work out for ourselves in the narrow passageways of time and space, when we are temporarily neglected by gigantic, blind forces of great power and no purpose; we may be liberated from superstition by the atomic doctrine, but we are not particularly encouraged. Book 2 is largely devoted to making this point. It is in effect a metaphysical critique of the moral philosophy of Book 1, and as such it is ruthlessly reductive; it drives the basic optimism of Book 1 to the wall and extorts from it every last escape mechanism of pantheistic delusion.

¹² Lucretius does not let his readers forget, it seems to me, that the ultimate cause of this atrocity is political: the sailing of the fleet (line 100), which means so much to Agamemnon as king that he forgets his role as father (cf. the pathos of line 94: *patrio princeps donarat nomine regem*, an abrasive reminder of which title is founded on nature and which on illusion and folly) and thinks more of his position as overlord of the *ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum* (line 86), who are — in an Epicurean context — the most misled and corrupted of all men: their superstition and their greed converge on one innocent object.

¹³ Cf. Giancotti (n. 10 above), pp. 171-175, 193-198.

Thus, a minimum acceptable exegesis of the passage must address the following items and interpret them — if not precisely as I do here, it should offer a better competitive exegesis of the same items in the same terms. (I) Cybele is silent, unresponsively hauled about in her cart, because the earth is morally unaffected by men's attendance (or indifference). (II) The yoked lions are a metaphor for the powers that she as *natura creatrix* both sponsors and uses to effect the natural processes: that she alone tames lions — i.e., requires them to obey *her* laws by being true to *their* natures and thus violent beasts — is further indication of the generally inhospitable character of nature vis-à-vis man, who could not himself think of taming lions, and lions here represent the powers of Nature in general, violent and unresponsive to man. (III) At first sight the equation of Cybele's crown with city walls seems little more than a piece of petrified ritual, but there is certainly more: considering that a crown is subordinate to the head that wears it, we may see here an ironic symbolism for the relative permanence and cosmic significance of transitory human inventions, even complex ones like cities, as compared with the age-old earth itself, whose power and stability mock those of mere human realms like kingdoms and cities. (IV) The procession sequence (608–632), as indicated above, emphasizes the silence, the indifference of the earth to its surroundings, particularly to the sights and sounds of the moment. Whereas Venus' passage through her domain in Book 1 had been gay and glorious, Cybele is slow, passive, and frightening (*horrifice*, 609, reminding us of *religio* at 1.65 *horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans*, only that was a delusion — the *Magna Mater*, Nature itself, is rightly a cause of genuine *horror*). Lines 610–617 seem to be closest to the purely informative mode and most agreeable with Bailey's type of commentary, although it might not be too farfetched to see the eunuchs (614), those *numen qui violarint / Matris et ingrati genitoribus inventi sint*, as a code designation for Stoics and others of mentalist kidney who try to denature the physical world — *their* mother, too — with their ethereal doctrines, and foolishly carry on pretending that there is a cosmic sympathy among all parts in Nature, as it were addressing her with pleas never to be answered (in any case Lucretius would not be above saying that the Stoics *indignos esse putandos, / vivam progeniem qui in oras luminis edant*, 617!). (V) The ritualistic fervors of Cybele's attendants are without question important symbols: the Earth-Mother is basically alien to the noise and spectacle of the celebration, just as the basic atomic reality of Nature is essentially alien to the so-called realities of our epiphenomenal sensations, as will

be developed in expository terms over the next two hundred lines. She is *muta* while all else is plunged in hysteria and convulsion (621) because these phenomena are no part of her basic generative function, the combination of insentient atoms to achieve whatever combination-forms are possible; if sentiency follows upon some of these combinations, that is nothing to her. She is unattentive, and her *tacita salus*, the blessing of true physical goods, has nothing to do with the momentary quality of epiphenomenal noises and sights. The noisy chaos of the procession represents, first, man's interpretation of reality, a false one; and second, man's ritualistic enactment of his neuroses in attempting to invest his life with meaning it does not have, attempts that generally prove to be ludicrous, vulgar, or inhumane. They are, in effect, the sundry manias that obsess men seeking happiness in the wrong ways, as Lucretius has been insisting from the sixteenth line of this book. Men strew Cybele's path with money (626-627) signifying that men seek to buy comforts and satisfactions which, if genuine, are free: men in a way, though very imperfectly, know that Nature is the ground of their being, but they are foolish in trying to coax or bribe her (with her own riches!) into doing them special favors, rather than seeking to live in conformity with the natural facts that true philosophy reveals to us, one of which is that Nature cannot be affected by our demands. To throw money at the Earth-Mother is to stand condemned of the foolish error stigmatized in the opening lines of Book 2 (16-18, 23-24):

nonne videre
nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi utqui
corpore seiunctus dolor absit . . .

neque natura ipsa requirit,
si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes . . .

In fact men even shower blossoms on Cybele (627-628) — on the very one who produces all flowers in the first place (594, also 1.7-8: *tibi suavis daedala tellus / summittit flores*) — and thus illustrate the sterility of so many of their eager efforts to wrest felicity by redundant or violent means from an openhanded, if deaf, Nature.

Now, the Curetai. The appearance of this vest-pocket myth hardly requires Bailey's hypothetical syncretism of two cults. First of all, Lucretius only says that the picture he gives is a story told by poets (600), not that he knows of a case or cases of an historical merger of the two cults. What he is clearly talking about are things like the chorus of the *Bacchae* (78-79, 120-134), which blends elements from the Bacchic procession with stories of the Curetai. There is no need what-

ever to invent a real case of cult syncretism. Moreover, this invention has quite misled Bailey on what the appearance of the Curetai is all about in *Lucretius' poem*. The whole passage is a parade of all human nature conducted by a master satirist, and it seems that here Lucretius' mind now moves to a higher, synoptic plane. The Curetai exulting in blood (631) possess a double valence: those in the procession being described constitute an image of man's self-destruction, particularly associated with *religio*, the last madness of fear (cf. 3.81-82); but they also (633) remind us of the mythical Curetai who set up a din about the mouth of the Dictaeon cave to mask the cries of the infant Zeus (= Jove) lest his father Cronos (= Saturn) devour him, while the Earth-Mother hid him with her own body. It hardly seems accidental that this story is the perfect mythical counterpart of the literally stated doctrines of 589-597: the earth hides within herself all things and powers of nature, including the terrifying power of volcanoes, etc. In the myth the Earth-Mother hid Jove (power) from sight, and the Curetai distracted Saturn from reaching the reality hidden and anonymous in the cave, i.e., under or within the Earth. Thus they enact the role that epiphenomenal appearances so often play in distracting men from pursuing a search for fundamental reality which is hidden, like Jove-Zeus, out of sight within the body of the earth.

In his famous simile comparing his verses with the honey a physician puts on the rim of a cup to administer a harsh medicine to children (1.936-942), Lucretius is often taken to be saying that his poetic ambitions are secondary and indeed almost frivolous with respect to the strict doctrinal content of his work. But the very fact that he makes the admission (twice) suggests that his tactics are a good deal more subtle, since in fact a doctor who would actually admit such a deception would be running a serious risk of not getting the drug down his patient at all, if his deception went no further than he claimed it did. A literal reading of the simile, then, would put a defensive reader on his guard only when strictly mechanical matters are being treated, when orthodox doctrine with all its admonitory slogans was deploying itself on the page; such a reader would relax his guard, however, when a "poetic" or pictorial stretch came along, thinking that this was the honey. But to credit the honey/gall passage with a reasonable degree of sophistication and the poet with an intelligent strategy, it is exactly to the "poetic" passages where we should look to find Lucretius' bitterest, or at least strongest, medicine, i.e., where it would be least expected. That this passage is a prime example of bitter medicine administered in a disarming and engrossing manner is a suggestion that ought to have been

made long ago. This would explain its sheer appearance, its placement in the book, and, above all, what have for so long appeared to be the mere idiosyncracies of the poet.¹⁴

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¹⁴ Siemering (n. 9 above), p. 13, connects the honey/gall simile particularly with *mythos*, not just with "poetic" bits of every kind. R. F. Arragon, "Poetic Art as Philosophical Medium for Lucretius," *Essays in Criticism* 11 (1961) 371ff, gives this passage a "literary" reading, also, but his interests are psychological (i.e., perhaps ultimately deeper) rather than exegetical in the strict sense. He says, pp. 378-379: "The metaphorically descriptive images of the palpable movement and variety of things carry along the atomic argument, but they do more. They suggest emotions associated with this movement and variety and irrelevant for atoms. While explicating an intellectual doctrine about nature, they direct emotional expectations toward nature. They reveal evaluative attitudes, delight in creativeness . . . The emotional ambivalence toward nature and human experience is further evidenced in Book II . . . etc." I would not here finally argue against the view that Lucretius is ambivalent toward his doctrines; he is, after all, the source of the pantheistic urges of Book 1, and he does somehow direct expectations toward nature, even in Book 2. I would only insist that on the level of *conscious* purpose he is working the other way, writing a palinode, as it were, to register needful corrections to the dangerous enthusiasms of Book 1: he has sensed that as a poet, like all poets perhaps, he basically yearns for a world in which there is an abundance, even a superfluity, of communication. (When Aristotle said that poetry is essentially metaphor he was saying something more profound about poets than poetry, I think: poets seem to be men who require more meaning in life, more equations among modes and aspects of reality, than other men do: they want everything to stand, analogously, for everything else, and thus they live with metaphors.) But if the poet is Lucretius and an Epicurean, his beliefs are an almost insurmountable challenge to his instincts. In Book 1 he indulged himself in the comforting belief — almost a delusion — that the intra-communication of natural objects and processes could be poetically maintained on a purely materialistic basis. In Book 2 he began to suspect that this optimism was that of a naive speculator, and — such is the tenacity and intricacy of his intellectual conscience — he withdrew the more questionable parts of his optimistic prospectus for Epicureanism with a poetic tour de force in Book 2 of equal, though countervailing, brilliance and suggestiveness.

CATULLUS AND CALLIMACHUS

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THE title I chose for this lecture¹ claims, I now think, too much for it. Several years ago, in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (1965), I described the relationship, as I imagined it, of Catullus and some other New Poets to Callimachus; I will not repeat here what I said there. Here I will concern myself, or rather content myself — *ἔπος δ' ἐπὶ τυτθὸν ἔλίσσω* — with the interpretation, necessarily incomplete, of two poems by Catullus, 65 and 66, which are hardly separable. Neither poem has been sufficiently appreciated, in my opinion: 66 because it has been read primarily as a translation, and 65 because it has been read primarily as if 66 did not exist.²

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of 66, the only example we have of a complete Hellenistic elegy translated into Latin. (Perhaps we should remember there was a time when scholars fancied that we had several such translations.) In 66 we can now see, if we care to look, how a Latin poet put himself to school to a Greek poet.

I begin with a few small observations that are relevant to my larger argument, lines 65–66:

Virginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis
lumina, Callisto iuncta Lycaoniae.

For the most part the form of line 65 was imposed by poetic rhetoric: a noun at the beginning, a noun at the end, and before the caesura an adjective modifying the second noun. The extreme postposition of *namque* results — an odd feature, duly noted by commentators: “admodum libere *namque* traiectum est” (Baehrens); “*namque* an 5 Stelle sehr gewagt” (Kroll); “*namque* very rarely stands so late in the sentence” (Fordyce). These commentators cite, as do others, Virgil *Ecl.* 1.14:

hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos.

¹ Given at the Triennial Meeting of the Roman and Hellenic Societies in Oxford, September 1968. I have made a few changes and have added footnotes.

² As recently by C. Witke, *Enarratio Catulliana: Carmina L, XXX, LXV, LXVIII, Mnem.*, suppl. (1968).

There is also Norden's summary account, "Einiges über Wortstellung," appended to his edition of *Aen.* 6; and a brief note by Housman on Manil. 5.254-255. Housman remarks, not very helpfully, that *namque* stands in the fourth place there, as it stands in the fifth in Cat. 66.65 and in the sixth in *Ecl.* 1.14. To distinguish the placement of *namque* in these two verses is to read with the eye, not with the ear: the phrases are rhythmically identical: *namque Leonis*, *namque gemellos*. In Latin poetry, to my knowledge, *namque* is so postponed in these two verses only. We can understand why Virgil wanted to imitate Catullus; but why did Catullus permit himself such a license here? Elsewhere he postpones *namque* to the second place only. The corresponding couplet of Callimachus is lost. But in a previous couplet, lines 61-62, there is an example of ἀλλά in the same place:

φάεσιν ἐν πολέεσσιν ἀρίθμιος ἀλλὰ γένωμαι.

This follows from Lobel's punctuation of the preceding verse, of which Pfeiffer approves: "recte opinor, etsi nullum exemplum coniunctionis ἀλλά quarto loco positae extare uidetur." Elsewhere Callimachus postpones ἀλλά to the second place only, and that infrequently. It was the immediate example of Callimachus, I suggest, and his craving for elegance that led Catullus to write:

Virginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis.

Elegance, *elegantia*, may be attainable only in a derivative language, like Latin or Hellenistic Greek.

Lines 75-78:

non his tam laetor rebus quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae uertice discrucior,
quicum ego, dum uirgo quondam fuit, omnibus expers
unguentis, una uilia multa bibi.

Of the thirteen words in lines 77-78 at least six have been altered at one time or another, although, with one exception, these alterations were made before the original text of Callimachus had been recovered. The exception is Lobel's *uilia* (suggested by λιτά of the papyrus) for *milia* of the Veronensis: this is certainly right.

Lines 75-78:

οὐ τὰδε μοι τοσσήνδε φέρει χάριν ὅσσον ἐκείνης
ἀσχάλλω κορυφῆς οὐκέτι θιζόμενος,
ἦς ἄπο, παρθενίῃ μὲν ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, πολλὰ πέπωκα
λιτά, γυναικείων δ' οὐκ ἀπέλαυσα μύρων.

In Catullus, line 77, I accept the usual punctuation. Mynors, following Maas, deletes the comma after *fuit*; but Catullus apparently imitated the rhythm of Callimachus.

The difficulties of Catullus' rendering have been described by Fordyce and, with some mordancy, by Axelson.³ I will not set out their criticisms in detail; for I think they are implicit in my own treatment of the passage. There are two contrasts in Callimachus' couplet: that between *παρθενίη* before the caesura of the hexameter and *γυναικείων* before the caesura of the pentameter; and that between *λιτά* and *μύρων*, which enclose the pentameter. Catullus manages to represent one of these contrasts in his couplet — that between *λιτά* and *μύρων*, with *unguentis* and *uilia* emphatically placed — but not the other; for I believe that Morel's conjecture, *nuptae* for *una*, is wrong. Axelson accepts it; and Pfeiffer favors it, while recognizing that a harsh couplet results: "quamquam totius distichi structura satis dura fit, coniecturam mihi ualde arridere confiteor." Women tend to cause trouble obliquely — in the dactylic meter; only in the upright cases, the nominative and vocative, are they easy to handle. Too, the elegiac couplet provides the poet with little room in which to move. Catullus' translation is open to criticism: *omnibus* and *una* are both weak, but not for that reason corrupt.⁴ *omnibus* may in fact be defended as idiomatic, or natural, with *expers*. Axelson noticed this, citing three examples: Cic. *De nat. deor.* 1.119 "expertes religionum omnium"; Liv. *Praef.* 5 "omnis expers curae"; Sen. *Dial.* 11.201 "omnis occupationis expers." The ordinary construction is with the genitive, as in line 91 of this poem:

unguinis expertem non siris esse tuam me.

But why have most scholars not raised their eyes to the preceding couplet?

non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae uertice discrucior.

Axelson did so, to observe that the referend of *quicum* is *uertice*, not *dominae*: unlike some advanced alcoholics Berenice presumably did not drink hair oil. *dominae* corresponds to the neutral *ἐκείνης* in Callimachus' couplet (line 75).⁵ Catullus intended, I am quite certain, a

³ "Das Haaröl der Berenike bei Catull," *Studi in onore di Luigi Castiglioni*, vol. 1 (Florence 1960), pp. 15-21.

⁴ See Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 113 n. 6.

⁵ It is not surprising that Barber rendered *dominae* with *ἀνάσσης* in his version, "The Lock of Berenice: Callimachus and Catullus," *Greek Poetry and Life: Essays Presented to Gilbert Murray*... (Oxford 1936) 343-363.

contrast, natural enough in Latin, between *dominae* and *uirgo*: *dominae*, like *γυναικείων*, stands before the caesura of its pentameter. I would also suggest that *quondam* (line 77), to which Haupt long ago objected, now becomes intelligible. Catullus achieved in a single period — the two couplets form a period — what he was unable to achieve in a single couplet.

Catullus tends to follow Callimachus closely, but without hesitating to depart from him where he had to or wished to. And in a few places, I think, Catullus improves on Callimachus — if a Roman may judge.⁶

Lines 43–50:

ille quoque euersus mons est, quem maximum in oris
progenies Thiae clara superuehitur,
cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus
per medium classi barbara nauit Athon.
quid faciant crines, cum ferro talia cedant?
Iuppiter, ut Chalybon omne genus pereat,
et qui principio sub terra quaerere uenas
institit ac ferri stringere duritiem.

Line 44:

progenies Thiae clara superuehitur
ἀμνάμων Θείης ἀργὸς ὑπερφέρεται

A remarkably close translation: *superuehitur* renders *ὑπερφέρεται*, to which it corresponds rhythmically and in part linguistically; in this sense it is a *ἄπαξ*. The examples of *uehor* which Pfeiffer cites from Herter are not strictly comparable.

Aen. 7.65:

stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera uectae

[Tib.] 3.7.209:

siue ego per liquidum uolucris uehar aera pennis.

Catullus is more of a linguistic innovator than is generally recognized.⁷

Lines 45–46:

⁶ I am indebted to Pfeiffer's article, "*BEPENIKHΣ ΠΛΟΚΑΜΟΣ*," *Philol.* 87 (1932) 179ff, still a most useful and interesting discussion of Catullus' translation. See also D. E. W. Wormell, "Catullus as a Translator," *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan* (1966) 194–199.

⁷ Some of his innovations have been noticed, for example 66.8, *caesariem*; others have not. In 6.11, "argutatio inambulatique," a description of the creaking and quivering of Flavius' bed, *argutatio* is *ἄπαξ*. The collocation of these

cum Medi peperere nouum mare, cumque iuuentus
per medium classi barbara nauit Athon

βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης μητρὸς σέο, καὶ διὰ μέσσου
Μηδείων ὀλοαὶ νῆες ἔβησαν Ἀθω.

We don't know what the phrase βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης μητρὸς σέο meant, nor did Catullus: he left it out. Hence he had to expand his version, since he was trying to match couplet for couplet. The result is inferior, in point of rhetoric, to what Callimachus wrote. About the following two couplets I can be very brief. The first, lines 47-48, is again a remarkably close translation, with the addition of the Latin exclamation *Iuppiter!* The next, lines 49-50, is not: I suppose that Catullus was simply unable to render Callimachus' Greek in any way that would be intelligible in Latin.

Elsewhere we notice, as we may imagine, a somewhat frustrated Catullus.

Line 64:

sidus in antiquis diua nouum posuit

Κύπρις ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἄστρον ἔθηκε νέον.

Catullus would have put *nouum* at the end of the pentameter, like νέον, but ἔθηκε imposed *posuit*. In another place, a similar place, Catullus has improved on Callimachus (lines 25-26):

at te ego certe

cognoram a parua uirgine magnanimam.

Schneider suggested that Callimachus had used a form, presumably the

two words, one new, without a caesura is meant to be expressive. Poets occasionally introduce a new word by pairing it with an old word. As in 25.9, "*reglutina* et remitte." *reglutina* is a virtual ἄπαξ: the verb recurs again only in Martianus Capella and Prudentius. Number 25 is one of Catullus' most carefully composed poems, an elegant exercise in literary pornography. Only Kroll seems to have appreciated this: "Das Gedicht wirkt akademisch." (The same might be said of other poems by Catullus on similar subjects.) The metrical technique is exquisite and may be compared with that of 4. A sophisticated metrical pattern produces ἄπαξ forms and meanings: there are at least six in these thirteen verses. I can diagnose, but not cure, the crux in line 5: "cum diua †mulierarios† ostendit oscitantes." Of these thirteen verses eight (including this one) have a caesura in the second foot; in every case — line 8 is an apparent exception: a pronoun is involved — the caesura is followed by two words, unelided: a trochee and a cretic, or a cretic and an iamb. Many conjectures have been made, most of which violate these metrical conditions. (This description of 25 is owing in part to a seminar paper by a former student, Hugh Mason.)

accusative, of *μεγαλόψυχος*; Pfeiffer notes that other adjectives are possible: *μεγάθυμος* (which would ordinarily be rendered in Latin by *magnanimus*) or *μεγαλήτωρ*. The point is that none of these adjectives could stand at the end of the pentameter. There is also a play here on *paruus* and *magnanimus*, which seems to me peculiarly Latin.

But 66 should not be treated merely as a clever exercise in translation. To a lesser degree it does have the qualities of Callimachus' poem — it is witty, erudite, sophisticated; but it has also an emotional and personal reference lacking in Callimachus' poem. Callimachus was an old man when he wrote his poem, Catullus a young man when he translated it; and Catullus could never have been a court poet: "nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere." I can best show what I mean by referring again to the text, lines 39-40:

inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi,
inuita. adiuro teque tuumque caput.

There is some disquiet. Why did Virgil adapt line 39, very slightly, for one of the most emotional scenes in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' encounter with Dido in the Underworld?

Aen. 6.458-460:

per sidera iuro,
per superos, et siqua fides tellure sub ima est,
inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.

I quote Fordyce, who comments in some detail. (Kroll, prudent and factual, has merely "Nachahmung.")

But to suppose that he deliberately raised the words from their trivial context in Catullus to one charged with tragic emotion may be as rash as to suspect that Ovid was parodying Virgil when he made the solemn *hoc opus, hic labor est* serve the purposes of the *Ars Amatoria* (i.453). The one reminiscence may be as unconscious as the other.

I cannot believe that this reminiscence is unconscious. Virgil's adapted verse is also accompanied by an oath, a spacious oath; for the hexameter permits a rhetorical dimension denied to the pentameter. Would we wish to say that when Virgil wrote *Ecl.* 4.46 "talìa saecula suis dixerunt currite fusi" he had forgotten the refrain in Catullus 64 "currite ducentes subtegmina, currite, fusi"? No; because there we do not sense any incongruity between the adaptation and the original, as we do here. Why then did Virgil adapt this verse? Because, I would say,

he was an extremely perceptive reader of Catullus and understood this poem — as most readers have not. (You may suspect that I intend to make Virgil an accessory to my interpretation. I do.) To return to Catullus' couplet:

inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi,
inuita. adiuro teque tuumque caput.

Only Baehrens comments on the form: "pulcre et praeposita et in fine repetita uox, quae fortem habet ictum." Repetition of a word in Latin elegy — epanalepsis — is fairly common; but this example, like the other two in this poem and the one in 65, is abnormal. The repeated word is ordinarily a noun modified in some way, by an adjective, a gerundive, a participle, an appositive phrase, a relative clause.⁸ Is Catullus imitating Callimachus here? We cannot be sure. Most of Callimachus' pentameter is preserved, but nothing of his hexameter. It would be easy to put ἄκων at the beginning of the nonexistent hexameter, and there is room for it at the beginning of the pentameter: ἄκων. σὴν τε κάρην ὤμοσσι σὸν τε βίον;⁹ but perhaps we should take warning from the grim example of those who have tried to restore Callimachus' Greek from Catullus' Latin. There are, as I remarked, two other such repetitions in this poem.¹⁰

Lines 75–76, cited above and below.

Lines 87–88, in the αἵτιον, in some ways the most intensely personal part of this poem; though I am not suggesting that Catullus added the αἵτιον on his own: that would be inconceivable.

sed magis, o nuptae, semper concordia uestras,
semper amor sedes incolat assiduus.

In all, then, there are three such repetitions in 66 (and one in 65, meant to be anticipatory). In one place only, lines 75–76, can we compare the Greek and Latin texts, and there there is no such repetition in the Greek.

non his tam laetor rebus, quam me afore semper,
afore me a dominae uertice discrucior.

⁸ Examples have been collected by Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge 1951), 33–35.

⁹ So Lenchantin di Gubernatis.

¹⁰ For a sensitive treatment of these passages see M. C. J. Putnam, "Catullus 66.75–88," *CP* 55 (1960) 223ff.

οὐ τὰδε μοι τοσσήνδε φέρει χάριν ὅσσον ἐκείνης
ἀσχάλλω κορυφῆς οὐκέτι θιζόμενος.

To return to the couplet in question: the vocative "o regina," like "o nuptae" in line 87, is pathetic and emotional. Is this merely an amusing parody? The test of parody is simple, subjective, and therefore unsatisfactory. It is this: can the passage be read in that way? I doubt that this can. If not, whence the un-Callimachean emotion here and elsewhere in this poem?

The themes of 65 and 66 are those of Catullus' other late poems: love (and marriage or fidelity), separation, death. Consider 68: Laodamia and Protesilaus, killed on the shore of Troy — a legend consisting somehow in Catullus' imagination with his feeling about his brother's death and his love for Lesbia; 63: Attis abandoned at the seashore, like Ariadne in 64; 101: Catullus at his brother's tomb, alluded to in 65 "Troia Rhoeteo quem subter litore tellus / ereptum nostris obterit ex oculis"; and 66: Berenice's lock of hair, abstracted from a temple on the seashore by that marvelous horse. I will not say that the seashore (*litus*) was a symbol for Catullus — partly because I dislike the word, with its contemporary nuance, partly because I suppose that Catullus could think of the seashore with as little emotion as any of us. But the imaginative association does exist in the poems I have mentioned. Is Virgil's adaptation then so surprising?

inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.

A new interpretation of an old poem (insofar as mine is new) requires some justification. Why was this poem not so understood before? I believe there are two reasons: the character of the poem itself — the grotesque tale and the erudite allusions (though no more erudite than those in 68) offend our late-romantic sensibility; and the accidental fact that 65 and 66 are separately numbered in our texts. Poem 65 is impressive: passionate and, if not quite direct, easy to understand; but without 66 it remains a beautiful fragment. Would Catullus have written such a poem to accompany an inert and unrelated translation? The relationship between 65 and 66 is intimate and demonstrable: and this I regard as a confirmation of my reading of 66.

The structure of 65 is clear: a long, loose period reminiscent of the epistolary style, held together after the parenthesis from line 5 to line 14 by the resumptive phrase *sed tamen* and the repetition of the friend's name *Hortale*.

Lines 11-14:

at certe semper amabo,
semper maesta tua carmina morte canam,¹¹
qualia sub densis ramorum concinit umbris,
Daulias absumpti fata gemens Ityli.

The repetition *semper . . . semper* anticipates, as I have remarked, similar repetitions in 66. And this feature is complemented by the simile which follows: *densis*, before the caesura, reinforces the prefix of *concinit*; the tone is intense, almost dense. The second part of this poetic epistle, like the first, ends with a simile, but a much more elaborate one, appropriately.

Lines 19-24:

ut missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum
procurrit casto uirginis e gremio,
quod miserae oblitae molli sub ueste locatum,
dum aduentu matris prosilit, excutitur,
atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu,
huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

casto . . . e gremio anticipates *casto . . . in gremio* in line 56 (in each verse *casto* has the same emphatic position) as well as *casto . . . cubili* in line 83. What of the simile as a whole? I quote Fordyce: "The long period is effectively rounded off, and the sombreness relieved, by the charmingly vivid and unexpected simile of the last lines." We may well agree; but why so complicated a simile at the end of this short poem? It was meant to suggest the style of a Callimachean simile; and the subject could hardly fail to remind the reader of one of the most famous episodes in the *Aetia*: the story of Acontius and Cydippe.¹² The simile is, as it were, preliminary to the *αἴτιον* in lines 79-88.

Finally — I end as I began — two technical observations that are relevant. The word order of the last verse of 65 and the first verse of

¹¹ *canam* is a Renaissance conjecture; the Veronensis has *tegam*. Since someone occasionally discerns a subtlety in this impossible Latin, I will explain the error. It originated in majuscule script. (Baehrens' explanation, that it originated in minuscule script, must be wrong; for he assumes a fanciful abbreviation.) *MORTECANAM* became *MORTECAM*, the scribe's eye slipping from the first to the second *A*; and then *TECAM* suggested *TEGAM* — nonsense, but obvious and metrical. I have discussed errors of this sort in my review of Enk's edition of Propertius Book 2, *AJP* 86 (1965) 95-101. Such errors may seem surprising to us. But the scribe was a calligrapher, more concerned with the shape of the individual letter than with the shape of the individual word.

¹² This was pointed out by Kroll.

66 is interlocking, a stylistic detail that helps to join 65 to 66. The first verse of Callimachus' poem survives:

πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὄρον ἥ τε φέρονται.

The word order is not interlocking. Another such detail: the period with which 66 begins consists of seven couplets. This cannot be Callimachean; for there are no such periods in Callimachus. In fact this is the longest elegiac period in Catullus, with one exception: 65 itself. Again we see Catullus at pains to make 65 a suitable introduction to 66: 66 being an oblique elaboration of the mood expressed more directly in 65.

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THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE SECOND *ECLOGUE*

OTTO SKUTSCH

WHEN Virgil fitted the *Eclogues* together in the final scheme of his book, he must have subjected at least some of the earlier poems to a certain amount of rewriting and reshaping, in order to achieve the numerical symmetries which are an undeniable feature of the collection. Can we still trace any such reshaping? In a Loeb Lecture delivered at Harvard¹ I took a very pessimistic view. Virgil, I argued, was too careful an artist to leave any unevenness which might betray shortening or interpolation. Matters were difficult enough in the *Monobiblos* of Propertius where similar problems arose, although Propertius' workmanship was not of the same high order, and although there we had, as we did not in Virgil, a metrical criterion to help us distinguish new from old. Perhaps, however, the case is not quite as hopeless as I then thought.

Eclogues 2 and 3 are known to be the earliest poems in the collection,² and 2 is widely believed to be the earliest of all. If any *Eclogue*, 2 may therefore be expected to have required adjustment to the scheme of the book as a whole. *Eclogues* 2 and 8 between them were to have 181 lines, to correspond to the verse total of 3 and 7, and whereas refashioning in 2 was feasible, its opposite number, 8, owing to the complex nature of its structure, would have resisted any numerical alteration.³ On the other hand, written without reference to a major unit, 2 is likely to have possessed a fairly regular structure of its own. This structure shows clearly in the corresponding length of the opening and concluding sections (1-5 and 69-73), and in the fact that the central part of the poem, 19-55, is surrounded by sections of thirteen lines each, 6-18 and 56-68.⁴ The central part itself, 19-55, consists of four

¹ *HSCP* 73 (1969) 153ff, esp. 168.

² See e.g. K. Büchner, *RE Vergilius*, col. 1253.

³ For a table showing the structure of each *eclogue*, except the catalogue poems 6 and 10, and the structure of the book as a whole, see the paper mentioned in n. 1, pp. 154f. On *Ecl.* 8 see n. 5 below; on the verse total of 2 and 8, n. 6 below.

⁴ The symmetry of the groups of thirteen lines, recognised as groups already by Rohde (see n. 8), was pointed out by F. Klingner, *Gnomon* 3 (1927) 577;

sections of nine, eight, nine, and eleven lines respectively, all clearly set off from one another. The first three sections added together have twenty-six lines, equalling the sum of the two surrounding sections of thirteen lines each. This strongly recalls the structure of *Eclogue* 4, in which a central part of twenty-eight lines is flanked by sections adding up to twenty-eight lines, twice seven lines on each side. It is true that, whereas in 2 the concluding section with five lines exactly equals the opening one, in 4 the introduction has three lines and the conclusion four. Clearly, however, three and four are meant to add up to seven,⁵ the number used symbolically as the structural base of this prophetic poem. It was, in fact, as I pointed out (p. 168), the symbolic use of the number seven which prevented the poem from having one line more, although this would have achieved complete symmetry in the book, making the total of 1-4 (330) equal to that of 6-9 (331), and the sum of 4 and 6 (149) equal to that of 1 and 9 (150).⁶ Let us then, allowing for this slight and wholly explicable deviation, set the schemes of 4 and 2 against each other:

	<i>Ecl.</i> 4	<i>Ecl.</i> 2	
	3	5	
(7 + 7)	14	13	
	28	26	(9 + 8 + 9)
		11	
(7 + 7)	14	13	
	4	5	

It thus appears very clearly that the eleven lines comprising the fourth section in the central part of 2, lines 45-55, do not fit into the structure at all, and we may therefore ask if that section could be a later insertion, made to achieve the overall symmetry of the book. That Virgil was prepared on occasion to sacrifice a symmetry originally

see also his *Virgil* (Artemis Verlag 1967), p. 40, and compare further E. Pfeiffer, *Virgils Bukolika* (Stuttg. 1933), p. 7. Büchner (above, n. 2), col. 1187, wrongly ends a section at line 16, overlooking that 16 and 18 cannot be separated. His view, taken before him by Belling and Witte, was refuted by Pfeiffer, *loc. cit.*, p. 5 n. 4.

⁵ For the adding up of sections outside the main body of the poem compare *Eclogue* 8, where the sixteen lines of the introduction and the two lines making the transition from the first to the second song (62-63) add up to a structurally significant 18, which in turn combines with the eighteen intercalary lines to balance the 36 lines of each song.

⁶ To appreciate these facts it must be remembered that the other two pairs of corresponding eclogues, 2 and 8, and 3 and 7, add up to 181 lines each.

intended to a later formal consideration was illustrated in my lecture, p. 157 (see n. 1 above), with the example of *Ecl.* 1, where an elaborate but not very significant symmetry was shown to have been abandoned to allow the central positioning of the allusion to Octavian.

In discussions of *Eclogue* 2 one occasionally hears lines 45-55 described as the "Meleager section." This description, based on J. Hubaux's identification of the passage with Meleager *AP* 5.147,⁷ is perhaps not quite appropriate. E. Pfeiffer, 18 and 33f (see n. 4 above), has shown good reason to believe that the combination of flowers, fruit, and branches as wedding gifts and the like was a *topos* and is more likely to have come to Virgil from some unknown source than from Meleager. However that may be, that lines 45-55 do not, as does most of the poem, derive from Theocritus, but from a different Greek source, is unquestioned. This does not entitle us to claim that the lines were inserted at a later stage, but it certainly makes such an assumption possible.

On the other hand, if G. Rohde were correct in stating that the second *Eclogue* ascended *uno tenore et uno cursu* to the climax of 55, and that passion rose ever stronger and more vehement towards the climax, then to weaken and give way to utter despair,⁸ we should, in order to uphold the view that 45-55 are a later addition, have to believe that Virgil by that interpolation not only failed to spoil but actually improved his earlier design: a theory by no means impossible, though not perhaps immediately convincing. I must confess, however, that I am quite unable to discover that constantly rising curve. The description of the love bower is sentimental enough, as well it may be, but what ascent is there from *o formose puer* in 17 to the same phrase in 45? What rise in passion from *o crudelis Alexi . . . nil nostri miserere? mori me denique coges* in 6-7 to e.g. *o tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura . . . habitare* in 28-29?

It remains to ask if lines 56f follow on 44 as naturally as they do on 55. As far as I can see the join is perfect. The central part now consists of nine lines asserting Corydon's worth: *despectus tibi sum . . .* (19-27); eight lines describing country pursuits to be shared with Alexis: *o tantum libeat mecum . . .* (28-35); and nine lines describing presents for

⁷ J. Hubaux, *Le réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile* (Liège 1927) 60f.

⁸ G. Rohde, *De Vergili eclogarum forma et indole* (Klass.-Philol. Studien 5, 1925), p. 11. He maintains this notwithstanding the fact that he divides the poem correctly into sections, 6-18, 19-27, 28-44, 45-55, 56-68, noting *Vergilium id spectare ut singulas partes separatas et ita, ut in se conclusae sint, ponat, easque grauius et expresse concludat*. A division which he overlooks is that between 28-35 and 36-44; see below.

Alexis, pipe and kids: *est mihi* . . . (36-44). The last section ends with a threat as petulant as it is futile: "and Thestylis shall have them," *quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra*. Line 56 now takes up in the most natural manner: *rusticus es*, Corydon: *nec munera curat Alexis, nec si muneribus certes, concedat Iollas*. Corydon not merely reminds himself that he is *rusticus* (so apparently is Iollas, though wealthier): he reproaches himself for his boorishness in believing that Alexis could be won by presents, and perhaps also for his momentary petulance. The idea that his gifts might not be good enough enters only secondarily, to show that there is no hope at all: even if he were to try Iollas would outbid him.

I shall not argue that these lines do not follow well after 55. If they did not, Virgil would have altered them when, as I believe he did, he inserted 45-55. But I would ask nevertheless whether the join is quite as satisfactory as it is with 44. The self-reproach of *rusticus es* loses the (arguable) reference to his petulance, and may seem a little less justified after all the beauty offered in 45-55. This, however, is perhaps both irrelevant and based on modern sentiment. On the other hand, the flowers brought by the nymphs, the fruit and branches gathered by Corydon are indeed *munera*, presents for Alexis, but their main function is to adorn the *locus amoenus*. They are not presents in the technical sense of the pipe and the kids in 36-44. It is these which Iollas would outbid, not the adornment of the love bower. Thus the connection of 56f with 44 might seem a little closer than it is with 55. But we must not be too subtle. *Eclogue 2* was liable to be adapted; the structure clearly points to a later insertion; the source of the suspected enlargement is different from that followed elsewhere in the poem; and the link between the sections separated by the enlargement is in no way inferior⁹ to the transition which, *ex hypothesi*, the poet created later. Given Virgil's qualities as an artist, what other evidence can we expect, and what other evidence is needed, to prove that the original form of *Eclogue 2* did not contain lines 45-55?

The structure thus emerging is highly artificial, a palindrome, as it were, of A (5), B (13), C (9), D (8), C' (9), B' (13), A' (5), less long but numerically even more sophisticated than that of Catullus 68.41-148. C + D + C', the three central sections, equal B + B', the frame surrounding them, and D, the innermost section, is brought up to the

⁹ The recurrence of the same word (*munera*, *muneribus*) in different positions in three successive lines, embodying at least one change of inflection, is quite in the Virgilian manner. Cf. 31ff: *imitabere Pana canendo. Pan primum . . . Insti tuit, Pan curat oues*.

total of $C + C'$, the sections framing it, by adding the sum of the outermost sections, $A + A'$. Though he does it for the sake of another symmetry, it is revealing to see Virgil prepared to abandon all this.

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SERVIUS AND THE HELEN EPISODE

G. P. GOOLD

THE principal issue discussed in this article¹ permits of a simple formulation, "Is the Helen Episode authentic?" and of a simple answer, "No." But the road which leads from the enunciation of the thesis to the final Q.E.D. of the proof is long and winding, typical less of the unswerving advance of a Euclidean theorem than of the anfractuosity of a drunkard's homeward path. To judge from current opinions, however, it is a road which badly needs mapping. It is certainly significant that not until the last few years has the external evidence for the passage been accorded a full-scale discussion. As Rowell justly complains, "it has usually been thought sufficient to refer to 'Servius' or the 'Servian Commentary' as its place of preservation and, unfortunately, this vague procedure has continued to prevail down to the present time."² In his article Rowell sought to remedy the insufficiency of judgements based only on an appraisal of the contents of the disputed verses, and concluded that we owe the verses to Donatus' commentary, that Donatus clearly believed the testimony of his sources, and that the verses are Virgil's own. Touching the matter of authenticity he thus pronounces a benediction upon the verdict of Austin, Büchner, Duckworth, Otis, and Quinn, to mention some only of the living Virgilians who have expressed an opinion. This, then, is the moment for the voice of dissent. The problem is one of source-criticism and involves a study of Virgil's ancient commentators; and besides advancing a particular thesis this article will serve to indicate work being done on volume I of the Harvard Servius, which, if far from completion, is nevertheless well under way.

The case will be presented in the following sequence of propositions. *First, that the only authority for the Helen Episode is Servius.* One must discriminate between the two commentaries (1) Servius and Servius

¹ I acknowledge with grateful thanks my indebtedness to Professor Charles E. Murgia of Berkeley both for considerable light he has shed on problems in Servian studies and for long discussions with me over the first draft of this article; and also to Professor C. P. Jones of Toronto for many valuable criticisms.

² Henry T. Rowell, "The Ancient Evidence of the Helen Episode in *Aeneid* II," in *The Classical Tradition*, ed. Luitpold Wallach (Ithaca 1966) 211.

Auctus and realize (2) how Servius Auctus was put together by the Compiler. The latter (3), already in possession of Donatus' Life of Virgil, found it unnecessary to preserve all of the inferior Servian Life, and consequently transcribed from it only (4) the allusion to the ninth *Eclogue*, and — here it is convenient to discuss (5) the posthumous editing of the *Aeneid* — (6) the *ille ego* verses, and (7) the Helen Episode. *Second*, (8) *that Servius' unsupported testimony is insufficient to establish a matter of fact. Third, that the contents of the Helen Episode cannot be reconciled with Virgilian authorship.* This section begins with (9) an examination of the text and the manuscripts offering it; then we proceed (10) to the studied way in which the Helen Episode has been put together, even to the contrivance of a Golden Section (11). Genuineness is excluded by a consideration of (12) the linguistic data and (13) Virgil's dramatic design for the second book of the *Aeneid*. *Finally, that the available evidence about the Virgilian tradition supports the contention that the Helen Episode is not authentic.* It is argued (14) that Varius cannot have seen it; that some Virgilian commentators issued false statements about the Virgilian autographs; and (15) that the canonical text never included the Helen Episode. Possibly (16) composed as an exercise in the Neronian Age, it was taken from some older commentary by Servius, who carelessly applied to it the explanation he customarily attaches to spurious passages, namely that it was athetized by Virgil's editors.

PART ONE: SERVIUS

I. SERVIUS AND SERVIUS AUCTUS

The Helen Episode, that is *Aen.* 2.567–588, is not found in any primary manuscript of Virgil. In fact, the text is preserved by two sources only, (a) Servius' Life of Virgil (which introduces his commentary on the *Aeneid*) and (b) the anonymous commentary often referred to as Servius Auctus, at *Aen.* 2.566. Similarities in the wording of Servius and Servius Auctus make plain that the two sources are intimately connected. Thilo believed that Servius Auctus took the passage from Servius, whilst Rowell, who walks in the footprints of Eduard Fraenkel,³ believes that the Servian testimony is interpolated from Servius Auctus. One or the other proposition must be true in view of the relationship between the two commentaries, and to this relationship we now must turn.

³ Eduard Fraenkel, *JRS* 38 (1948) 132 (*Kleine Beiträge*, II 340).

The commentary of Servius (S) reaches us in a well articulated text, the oldest manuscripts showing for a work of this kind remarkably little deviation from each other. Servius set out, it seems, to write a commentary on the *Aeneid*, but upon the successful completion of that task decided to go ahead and annotate the whole of the poet's work. At any rate, his commentary is prefaced by a Life of Virgil and is followed by notes on the *Aeneid*, notes on the *Eclogues*, and notes on the *Georgics*. The whole may be schematized as Sp-Sa-Se-Sg. And that this is the order of composition Servius' cross-references make quite plain. For example, on *Georg.* 1.488 he says *ut docuimus in Aeneide*, and the relevant annotation is found at *Aen.* 10.272, which must therefore have been written earlier. Similarly, the words *sicut in Bucolicis diximus* at *Georg.* 4.101, referring to *Buc.* 9.30, prove that Servius wrote on the *Eclogues* before he wrote on the *Georgics*.

Complications, however, are caused by a small number of manuscripts which present an expanded text of Servius. These exhibit, in addition to the complete text of Servius (which, however, is frequently adapted to accommodate the new material), alternative explanations, further quotations, and extra comments; and it was first assumed that here was the full text of Servius, the vulgate manuscripts furnishing merely an abridgement. After the name of Pierre Daniel, who in 1600 first edited these manuscripts, this expanded text is most commonly known as Servius Danielis, though occasionally it is referred to as Servius Auctus. This latter designation is here preferred, as being noncommittal, for Daniel often deviates by addition or omission from the strict testimony of his manuscripts. Nevertheless, the abbreviation DS, which enjoys universal acceptance, will be retained.

The nineteenth century brought the important realization that DS represented an amalgamation of Servius' commentary (S) with a large mass of non-Servian scholia (which let us call D): the inclusion in the latter of otherwise unknown but evidently genuine fragments from such authors as Naevius and Accius and Cato proved that much at least of D possessed a unique authority. Though he did not pursue his line of reasoning further, Lion deduced that such references as the following could not derive from the Servian commentary for the simple reason that no annotation of *Eclogues* and *Georgics* occurred until the commentary on the *Aeneid* was completed:

D *Aen.* 2.172 . . . *quod in Bucolicis scriptum est* (cf. D *Buc.* 7.31);

D *Aen.* 4.462 . . . *quod plenius in primo Georgicorum dictum est* (cf. D *Georg.* 1.39).⁴

⁴ H. Albertus Lion, *Commentarii in Virgilium Serviani* (Göttingen 1826) vii f.

Émile Thomas, whose *Essai sur Servius* still provides the most helpful introduction to these studies, recognized the "variorum" nature of the DS commentary, a conception which Thilo clarified considerably by adducing scores of striking connections between D scholia and ancient commentators from Aemilius Asper to Macrobius and demonstrating that D draws upon authorities behind Servius himself. The most important advance was achieved by Barwick, who, by carefully analyzing the way in which the D scholia had been, often all too clumsily, fused on to Servius, revealed their homogeneous nature as annotations lifted from a single pre-Servian commentary on Virgil; and he concurred in the opinion, already hazarded by Thilo, that the amalgamation of D and S into the DS commentary took place in Ireland in the seventh century.⁵ For Thilo, DS was something of a stew, with the D element representing ingredients drawn from several sources. But what Irish cook of the seventh century commanded a larder which contained, for example, texts of Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Postumius Albinus, Cassius Hemina, and a dozen other republican historians to sprinkle over his confection?

Barwick refrained from identifying the D commentary, which he supposed to have survived into the dark age and to have been at the Irishman's disposal, but Thilo had observed that DS must, like Donatus, have begun with the *Eclogues*, and that, where Servius refers to Donatus, DS sometimes omits the name (which of course would have been absent from the body of Donatus' commentary). Barwick himself stressed that DS is normally punctilious in furnishing exact information where Servius is content with a vague attribution, e.g., DS *Aen.* 2.225 *alii, ut Cincius, dicunt*, where Servius has merely *alii dicunt* and DS *Aen.* 7.543 *quidam commentarius, Firmianus*, where Servius fails to give the name (D most likely had *Cincius dicit* and *Firmianus* respectively). Not surprisingly three scholars in the next few years, Lammert, Wessner, and Rand, each came forward — and independently — with the suggestion that the author of the D commentary was none other than Aelius Donatus, whose work indeed Servius on his own admission used.⁶ Rand went a good deal farther than the others. If, he argued,

⁵ Karl Barwick, "Zur Serviusfrage," *Philol.* 70 (1911) 106–145. The notion had previously been voiced by R. Halfpap-Klotz, *Quaestiones Servianae* (Greifswald 1882) 30.

⁶ F. Lammert, "De Hieronymo Donati discipulo," *Comm. Philol. Jenenses* 9 (1912) 41–51, 75; Paul Wessner, *ap. Teuffel, Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*⁸ (1913) III 307; E. K. Rand, "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?" *CQ* 10 (1916) 158–164.

Servius took his material from Donatus, as most people believe, and if someone in the Middle Ages has added to a text of Servius a substantial amount of scholia from Donatus, do we not then possess in DS essentially the commentary of Donatus himself? This speculation provided much of the energy and enthusiasm which went towards the planning of the Harvard Servius, and in the very year the first instalment of the project appeared — happy omen — two Italian scholars, Santoro and Marinone, published independent studies which seemed to confirm that the valuable D scholia are in fact derived from Donatus.⁷

What needs now to be recognized is that the equation $DS = S(\text{ervius}) + D(\text{onatus})$, though fundamentally true, greatly oversimplifies the situation. It leaves out of account the medieval compiler who expanded Servius, the seventh-century Irishman of Thilo and Barwick. A warning was sounded by the dissertation of Travis, who, comparing the stylistic features of the D scholia and those of Donatus' commentary on Terence in the confident expectation of being able to prove identity of authorship, acknowledged his disappointment at the negative results he obtained.⁸ The Compiler is the man whose style Travis was vainly comparing with Donatus', and a closer look at the Compiler forms the next step in our disquisition.

2. THE COMPILER OF SERVIUS AUCTUS

Whether or no he lived in Ireland, we must envisage a man who possessed a copy of Servius. Into his hands has come the D commentary — the commentary of Donatus. The result requires us to believe that into his Servius he copied large amounts of those scholia in D which he found wanting in Servius. Why, one will ask, did he not simply use or transcribe the D commentary? No certain answer is possible. Perhaps the D commentary lacked the text of Virgil which his Servian commentary contained — certainly, the Lemovicensis (the manuscript which preserves the DS commentary for part of the *Georgics*) by giving such readings as *Georg.* 1.19 *trip GEORG tolemum* and 1.39 *elysio LIB I grana* seems to point to the headings of a Virgil text in its exemplar. Perhaps the Compiler, as Murgia suggests, had already

⁷ A. Santoro, "Il *Servio Danielino* è Donato," *SIFC* 20 (1946) 79-104, also *Esegeti virgiliani antichi* (Bari 1946); N. Marinone, *Elio Donato, Macrobio, e Servio* (Vercelli 1946).

⁸ Albert H. Travis, *De Servii carminum Vergilianorum interpretis dicendi rationibus* (diss. Harvard 1940), summarized in "Donatus and the Scholia Danielis: A Stylistic Comparison," *HSCP* 53 (1942) 157-169; see also *CP* 45 (1950) 38f.

invested time and trouble in adding notes of his own to his copy of Servius, for we shall soon prove the existence of non-Donatian matter among the D scholia. But his motives hardly count. What matters is the fact that he stitched D scholia on to the fabric of Servius. Stocker cites a telling example from *Aen.* 1.448,⁹ where Servius had attempted to explain why the portals of Dido's temple were constructed of bronze:

- (S) AEREA uel quod aes magis ueteres in usu habebant, uel quod religioni apta est haec materies; denique flamen Dialis aereis cultris tondebatur.

In his D commentary the Compiler finds more than this, so from it he writes:

- (D) *aut quia uocalius ceteris metallis, aut quia medici quaedam uulnera aere curant,*

but then goes on to add

- (D) *aut dicit quia ueteres magis aere usi sunt.*

Now this is precisely what Servius had said to begin with: it is clear that the Compiler has carelessly copied out from D what was already in his own text. We catch here a glimpse of Servius at work: Donatus gave alternative explanations, from which Servius, a man of judgement whatever his faults, has selected what he thought worth preserving. The Compiler, however, fails to notice the item which Servius has specially singled out for mention at the head of his scholium and has copied it out all over again. The Compiler is no critic, and is heedless of inconsistencies and contradictions. Moreover, he is a meddler, and his meddlings with the language of Servius run like a fugal theme through the DS commentary. At *Aen.* 2.686 Servius had somehow got hold of a faulty reading *sacros*, and in commenting on it said:

- (S) SACROS RESTINGVERE FONTIBVS IGNES non quos tunc sacros sciebant, sed quos mox probarunt.

Here Donatus gives the correct reading, which together with a lengthy explanation the Compiler has copied out. But he has modified the Servian note, which cannot have been in Donatus' commentary at all (especially since D explains *sanctos* as *sacros* without alluding to textual trouble). Possibly from some glossed text of Virgil, the source of such a note as *Gl. Ansil.* SA 106, the Compiler has glossed SACROS with *religiosos*, and, his taste offended by *mox* in conjunction with a preterite,

⁹ Arthur F. Stocker, "Servius Servus Magistrorum," *Vergilius* 9 (1963) 12.

has altered *probarunt* to *probaturi sunt* (anyone with a sense of style would have written *erant*). Here Murgia considers the possibility that the gloss on SACROS was inherited with the Virgil text and that tinkering with *probarunt* antedated transcription of D material. In any event *Ed. Harv.* II gives a wrong impression by printing these alterations to Servius as the common S and DS text. Thilo's editorial method shows to advantage here, and for *Ed. Harv.* I (on *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, where, to be sure, the problems are different from those in the *Aeneid*) a modification of Thilo's method is being adopted, whereby roman type indicates the text of Servius, italic the additions of the DS text, deletions made by the Compiler being indicated by square brackets;¹⁰ the useful device of splitting the page so as to present S on one side and DS on the other will be employed wherever this secures a gain in clarity. According to this scheme the above scholium would be printed thus:

(S/DS) SACROS RESTINGVERE FONTIBVS IGNES *religiosos*,
non quos tunc sacros sciebant, sed quos mox [probarunt]
probaturi sunt.

Earlier in this article mention was made of Servius' practice of referring back to previous notes, doubtless to avoid unnecessary repetition; and the different arrangement of the D commentary was alluded to. But who is it that is making cross-references in the D scholia? Are Donatus' cross-references being faithfully transcribed? Or is the Compiler modifying these, as we shall see later on he modified those of Servius? At *Buc.* 7.26 a wholly Servian scholium contains the words *sicut etiam in Aeneide diximus* (the reference is to 7.499): the D scholia could not have contained this reference, since their order was e-g-a. Consequently, when we find the DS version of the scholium reading *sicut etiam in Aeneide dictum est*, we may confidently ascribe the change to the Compiler, and not to the D commentary he was excerpting.

Let us examine the Compiler's references. He seems to have gone through the text systematically altering occurrences of *ut supra diximus* to *ut supra dictum est*. So we find:

S/DS *Aen.* 1.37 ut superius [diximus] *dictum est*
S/DS *Aen.* 1.76 ut supra [notauimus] *notatum est*
S/DS *Aen.* 1.175 ut [diximus] supra *dictum est*
S/DS *Aen.* 1.292 ut superius [diximus] *dictum est*
S/DS *Aen.* 1.294 ut superius [diximus] *dictum est*

¹⁰ This proposal was made by Professor Philippa Forder of Mount Holyoke College, who is collaborating with me on *Harv. Serv.*, vol. I.

S/DS *Aen.* 1.301 ut supra [diximus] *dictum est*

S/DS *Aen.* 1.382 quod autem [diximus] *dictum est*

S/DS *Aen.* 1.451 ut supra [diximus] *dictum est*

S/DS *Aen.* 1.461 ut supra [diximus] *dictum est*

And so on, at 1.488, 506, 626, 630, 666, 683, 726, and 729. Of course, in none of these places should *Ed. Harv.* II have fathered on Servius the impersonal form written by the Compiler. Note that at 76 and 301 the DS reading survives only as an interpolation in the **Γ** tradition of the Servian manuscripts (a phenomenon more clearly discernible at 37 and 175). Likewise in *Aen.* 2 Servius' references to previous annotations are altered at 61, 69, 158 (here the DS reading survives only in one manuscript of the **Γ** tradition), 199, 296, 431, 471, 557, and 592. From the beginning of the *Aeneid* up to this point not a single instance has been left unaltered (at 2.19 and 142 and 250 and 513 the references have been suppressed, and at 2.215 the testimony of the Cassellanus, our only trustworthy guide to the DS text in this book, is missing). Hereafter, however, we encounter hardly an instance of *diximus* being altered to *dictum est*. Did the Compiler become tired and give up? We must not make too much of Servius' references at *Aen.* 2.668 and 755, where the Cassellanus is missing. However, in *Aen.* 3 (where the Floriacensis takes over as our authority for DS) the Servian references are unaltered: see 70, 103, 125, 159, 163a, 246, 279, 280, 284, 302, 333, 363, 395, 407, 433, 491, 566, 615, 678, and 710 (at 163b ut *supra dictum est* is another DS reading attested only by interpolated Servian manuscripts and corresponding to nothing in Servius).

A few sporadic examples do occur: at *Aen.* 6.6, 7.764, 8.43, 9.410, 10.89; *Buc.* 4.31, 6.47, 6.61, 10.23; and *Georg.* 1.278. One of these deserves a notice:

S/DS *Aen.* 9.410 . . . quos supra insolubiles [diximus supra] *dictum est*.

Here the retention of the accusative *quos*, against all grammar and quite impossible for Donatus, reveals the careless and mechanical nature of the adjustment.

Possibly these alterations to the impersonal form are to be imputed to fitful activity on the Compiler's part. Possibly, as Murgia is inclined to believe, the DS impersonals have been changed to personals through interpolation with the Servian practice. This we have to assume at

S/DS *Aen.* 8.43 ut *supra dictum est* [diximus supra].

Here the DS manuscript (F) and M (i.e., **DS, F**) attest the Servian reading, the impersonal verb (i.e., the genuine DS text) being preserved by the Δ tradition of the Servian manuscripts.

We must remember that the DS text has not survived intact for the whole of Virgil's works. It is altogether missing for the first three *Eclogues* and virtually missing for most of the *Georgics* (the Vatican Scholia being a drastic abridgement and reworking of DS) and *Aeneid* 6 and 7. Even so, for the portion covered by the primary DS manuscript Lemovicensis the Compiler seems to have left untouched the Servian formula at *Buc.* 4.34, 5.45, 7.1, 7.20, 8.92, 9.38, 10.1, 10.9; *Georg.* 1.21 and 1.27.

Nevertheless, when the Compiler is inserting notes into his Servian text, he adheres to the impersonal formula (*sic*)*ut (supra) dictum est*: see, for example, D *Aen.* 3.7, 24, 60, 68, 124, 131, 164, 178, 212, 213, 311, 407, 420, 437, 545, and 550.

Now consider the adjustments made at *Buc.* 6.61:

S/DS ... quod plenius in Aeneidos tertio libro [memorauimus] *memoratum est, ubi etiam de ipsis malis fabula relata est.*

The last eight words cannot have been found in the D commentary: when the notes on the *Eclogues* were written, comment on the *Aeneid* still lay in the future. So here we detect the Compiler penning an extra note of his own. Similar reasoning tells us that at *Georg.* 1.8

S/DS CHAONIAM PINGVI GLANDEM MVTAVIT ARISTA
Epiroticam, quae cur Chaonia dicta sit, in tertio Aeneidis (334)
plenius habes, et hic ideo Epiroticam a loco ...

all the italicized words, and not merely the reference, are the Compiler's.

Look carefully at the Compiler's cross-references to fables. Where he refers back, we read (e.g., at *Buc.* 6.27) *quod in septimo Aeneidis plene habes*. Where he refers forward, we see that he uses a different verb and tense:

D *Aen.* 1.651 ... *quod in secundo plenius inuenies* (→ *Aen.* 2.601)
D *Aen.* 3.211 ... *quod in septimo ... plenius inuenies* (→ *Aen.* 7.790)
D *Aen.* 3.399 ... *quod ibi inuenies ubi ait ...* (→ *Aen.* 11.265)
D *Aen.* 5.105 ... *de Phaethonte in decimo plenius inuenies* (→ *Aen.* 10.189)

He must therefore be referring forward in the following places:

D *Aen.* 3.274 *hoc ... plenius in Bucolicis ... inuenies* (→ *Buc.* 8.59)
D *Aen.* 9.213 *de inferiis ... plenius in quarto Georgicorum inuenies*
(→ *Georg.* 4.545)

It seems then that the order of the DS Commentary is DSa-DSe-DSg. Murgia questions this by adducing one instance of *inuenies* unarguably referring back:

S/DS *Aen.* 7.764 quam historiam plene in secundo [diximus] *inuenies*.

This must be deemed an inconsistency on the Compiler's part: in any case his own practice would have led us to expect *dictum est*. Thus it follows that the Compiler's Servius displayed the order Sa-Se-Sg. True, all extant copies of Servius point to an archetypal Se-Sg-Sa. But in the original order of Servius the *Aeneid*, immediately preceded by the Life, certainly came first, and this sequence may well have survived to the Compiler's time.

The Compiler also reveals his hand in his dealings with the names Donatus and Urbanus in Servius. Naturally Donatus never mentioned himself by name in his commentary; nor did he refer to Urbanus, whose activity must be dated after Donatus and before Servius. And naturally neither of these names ever occurs in the additional D notes. Now, when the Compiler saw that scholia occurring in his D commentary were, when referred to by Servius, labelled with the names Donatus or Urbanus, he decided to suppress the names: possibly, whilst willing to retain the names of older authorities like Probus and Asper, he declined to reveal his dependence on the later commentators. Hence:

S/DS *Georg.* 1.198 sic enim [Donatus sensit] *in omnibus commentatoribus legitur* . . .

S/DS *Aen.* 3.242 quod [Donatus dicit] *alii dicunt*.

S/DS *Aen.* 4.624 [Urbanus dicit] *alii dicunt*.

Likewise at *Aen.* 7.556, 8.333, 9.389 and 544. However, in many other places the Compiler has seemingly made no alteration. Of course we must remember to exclude from consideration such sections of the text for which the DS Commentary is not extant: thus we can infer nothing about the attitude of the Compiler towards the names of Donatus and Urbanus at *Buc. praef.* 9, 20; 2.17; 3.38; *Georg.* 1.425; 2.4, 324, 412, 424, 514; 4.150, 345.

At *Aen.* 6.177 we are faced with a conundrum: "Probus tamen et [Donatus] *ceteri commentatores*." The merest glance at Thilo's edition will disclose that contact with the D commentary has been lost in this area of the text: it looks as if the Compiler has suppressed Donatus' name without any reference to the D commentary at all.

Did the Compiler tire of making these changes and fail to complete his design? Or, where no change is indicated by our DS manuscripts, is

it possible that the Compiler's autograph has not been accurately reproduced? Apart from *Aen.* 2.557 all cases involve the Floriacensis (see above, page 108): *Aen.* 3.535, 636; 4.384, 469; 5.493, 517; 6.230, 339, 535, 609, 623; 7.1, 543, 563; 8.373, 642; 9.30, 361, 672, 760; 10.331, 463, 497, 661; 11.31, 124, 316, 318, 762; 12.365, 366, 507, 514, 529, 585. Here and there we come across clues that the Compiler's intentions have not always been carried out.

S/DS *Georg.* 1.120 [ut etiam] Donatus dicit. Rather all four words were meant to be expunged.

S/DS *Aen.* 2.798 EXILIO ad exilium. *alii* Donatus contra metrum sensit, dicens . . . Rather, as Thilo suggests, *alii* [Donatus] contra metrum [sensit, dicens] *senserunt, dicentes* . . . was meant.¹¹

S/DS *Aen.* 4.548 [Vrbanus hoc diuidit] *alii hoc diuidunt*, licet *alii* iungant, et [uult] *uolunt* hunc esse sensum: *Vrbanus hoc diuidit*. The whole purpose of the Compiler's intervention was to suppress the last three words: he certainly never added them at the end.

Several passages demonstrate that from time to time the Compiler transferred scholia (both S and D) to other lemmata than those under which he found them. We consider three.¹²

(1) On *Aen.* 1.119 *arma uirum* "weapons of men" Servius remarked that the poet did well to add *uirum* (gen. plur.), thus leaving no doubt as to the sense of *arma*.

S *Aen.* 1.119 ARMA VIRVM bene addidit "uirum," arma enim dicuntur cunctarum artium instrumenta, ut (177) "Cerealiaque arma."

The Compiler — we can hardly impute this to Donatus — mechanically copied out the note at 1.1 *arma uirumque cano*, where it becomes quite absurd — as if *uirum* in the first line of the *Aeneid* were a genitive plural, a mere afterthought of the poet's, added for the purpose of clarifying the first word. True to himself, the Compiler has stuck in an *autem* and played about with the wording, though not enough to conceal the source of his remark.

S/DS *Aen.* 1.1 VIRVM *autem* quem non dicit, sed circumstantiis ostendit Aenean. *et bene addidit post arma* "uirum," *quia arma possunt et aliarum artium instrumenta dici, ut* (177) "Cerealiaque arma."

(2) At *Aen.* 1.171 Servius explains that *telluris amore* does not signify love of Carthage, but merely denotes the desire of the ship-

¹¹ Georg Thilo, *Servii Grammatici . . . Commentarii*, vol. I (Leipzig 1881) praef. xv.

¹² Cf. Heinrich Georgii, *Die antike Aneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891) 14f.

wrecked to reach any dry land, and he refers to two other passages to support his contention. This prompted the Compiler to write similar notes on these two passages, neither of which called for comment: in the first *quodcumque*, and in the second *post (mare)* give him away.

S *Aen.* 1.171 TELLVRIS AMORE cuiuscumque terrae post pericula. unde et superius (157) "quae proxima litora cursu contendunt," et paulo post (172) "optata potiuntur Troes harena."

D *Aen.* 1.157 PROXIMA LITORA *ideo, quia post periculum non eligitur litus, sed quodcumque occurrit occupatur.*

D *Aen.* 1.172 et HARENA *aut pro terra posita est, aut et harena grata potuit esse post mare.*

(3) When used in the temporal sense, says Servius farther on, the preposition *sub* takes an accusative.

S *Aen.* 1.662 ET SVB NOCTEM CVRA RECVRSAT circa noctem. et sciendum quia, cum tempus significatur, "sub" praepositio accusatiuo cohaeret.

Later he has occasion to remark on *super* with the ablative, and he quotes 1.662, thus:

S *Aen.* 1.750 SVPER PRIAMO de Priamo. nam eius praepositionis officio fungitur pro qua ponitur, ut supra (662) "et sub noctem cura recursat."

The Compiler, looking back at 662, saw the note and decided to repeat it here, where it is absolutely redundant. Hence:

S/DS *Aen.* 1.750 ... ut supra (662) "et sub noctem cura recursat," *id est circa noctem. et sciendum quod, cum tempus significatur, "sub" praepositio accusatiuo haeret semper.*

Note his pettiness: he alters *quia* to *quod*, *cohaeret* to *haeret*, and throws in *semper* for good measure.

To these instances of the Compiler's activity one can add more, and one can add many more where it is probable, though not certain, that he has repeated notes (or parts of notes) at passages cited in the original scholium. At D *Georg.* 1.12 is discussed the locution *aqua fremit*, with quotation of two Ennian passages and *Aen.* 11.299: at the latter we find in D an abridged note quoting only one of the Ennian passages. After S *Aen.* 4.409, the Compiler's note at *Aen.* 4.567 repeating a small part of it can hardly be ascribed with certainty to the D commentary, which probably treated the matter fully and finally at *Georg.* 3.221 (now unfortunately lost in its complete form: see the D note at *Aen.* 8.677).

Having established the propensity of the Compiler to add cross-references and notes of his own, and even to repeat whole notes elsewhere, let us look at a much discussed scholium, where it is possible to get a rough idea of what Donatus wrote and how first Servius and then the Compiler adapted it to their own ends. This we are enabled to do by a passage in Macrobius, who himself has made abundant use of the Donatian commentary in writing or rather compiling his *Saturnalia*.

DONATUS
(conjectural)

MACROBIUS
(*Sat.* 3.8.2)

SERVIUS
(= S and DS)

Aen. 2.632

<AC DVCENTE DEO

AC DVCENTE DEO

(1) doctissime "deo"
non "dea,"

(1) cum...doctissime
dixerit "ducente deo"
non "dea."

(2) secundum eos qui
dicunt utriusque sexus
participationem habere
numina.

(2) secundum eos qui
dicunt utriusque sexus
participationem habere
numina.

(3) nam et apud
Caluum Haterianus
affirmat legendum
"pollentemque deum
Venerem," non "de-
am."

(3) nam et apud
Caluum Haterianus
affirmat legendum
"pollentemque deum
Venerem," non "de-
am."

(3) nam Caluus in libro
suo ait "pollentemque
deum Venerem."

(4) item Vergilius "nec
dextrae erranti deus
afuit," cum aut Iuno
fuerit aut Allecto.

(4) item Vergilius "nec
dextrae erranti deus
afuit," cum aut Iuno
fuerit aut Allecto.

(5) signum etiam eius
est Cypri barbatum,

(5) signum etiam eius
est Cypri barbatum,

(5) est etiam in Cypro
simulacrum barbatae
Veneris.

SERVIUS AUCTUS
(DS only)

(6) corpore et ueste
muliebri, cum sceptro
ac statura uirili,

(6) corpore et ueste
muliebri, cum sceptro
ac statura uirili,

(6) *corpore et ueste
muliebri, cum sceptro
et statura uirili,*

(7) et putant eandem
marem et feminam
esse.

(7) et putant eandem
marem et feminam
esse.

(8) Aristophanes eam
'*Ἀφρόδιτον* appellat.

(8) Aristophanes eam
'*Ἀφρόδιτον* appellat.

(8) *quod 'Ἀφρόδιτον
uocant,*

(9) Laeuius etiam sic ait "Venerem igitur alnum adorans, siue femina siue mas est, ita uti alma noctiluca est."

(10) Philochorus quoque in Atthide eandem affirmat esse lunam,

(11) et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina.

(12) ueteres interpretes deum ut unum ex magnis numinibus accipiebant, quae supra (623) poeta meminerat.

(9) Laeuius etiam sic ait "Venerem igitur alnum adorans, siue femina siue mas est, ita uti alma noctiluca est."

(10) Philochorus quoque in Atthide eandem affirmat esse lunam,

(11) et ei sacrificium facere uiros cum ueste muliebri, mulieres cum uirili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina.

(11) *cui uiri in ueste muliebri, mulieres in uirili ueste sacrificant.*

(12) *quamquam ueteres deum pro magno numine dicebant.*

VERONA SCHOLIA

(*ad loc.*)

(13) alii fatum uolunt dictum,

(13) qui legunt DEO fatum uolunt dictum.

DONATUS

(Ter. Eun. 875)

pleraque enim repentinis impulsionibus nata mirisque prouentibus deo ascribi solent ut "hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris" et Sallustius "ut tanta repente mutatio non sine deo uideretur.">

pleraque repentinis impulsionibus nata mirisque prouentibus deo ascribi solent ut . . . "hinc me digressum uestris deus appulit oris" et Sallustius "ut tanta repente mutatio non sine deo uideretur."

(13) *Sallustius "ut tanta mutatio non sine deo uideretur."*

Beneath this bewildering consarcination lies a real and crucial issue, which, as we shall see later, has a direct bearing on the Helen Episode. Troy is falling and Aeneas, too, would fall, did not Venus appear and promise that she will escort him to safety (*Aen.* 2.620). She then vanishes (621). The mighty deities come on to destroy the city (623). Aeneas hastens to his home *ducente deo* (632). The problem is this: to whom does *deo* refer?

The most convenient answer (A: scholium sections 1-11) would

be Venus. But, to say nothing of her departure at 621, Virgil never uses *deus* of a goddess. In this dilemma most of the ancient critics resorted to the fantastic explanation that Venus partook of the male sex, or — a more intelligent if drastic alternative — emended the text (in fact our oldest manuscripts all read *dea*, not *deo*). Some in desperation suggested (B: 12) that Aeneas' guide was one of the *numina magna* mentioned in line 623 as entering the scene after Venus' departure: but this will not do, because they have come only to bring destruction to Troy. The most judicious critics, however, — among them we must include the Verona Scholiast and Donatus on Terence *Eun.* 875 (who must therefore have written something similar here) — abandoned any attempt at a precise identification and simply interpreted the phrase (C: 13) as "with heaven's guidance," "with a god's guidance."

Naturally, one cannot assume — except where they exactly agree — that either Macrobius or Servius (or Servius Auctus) has kept the precise words of Donatus, who probably introduced his comment with a different phrasing in 1 and 2, furnished fuller detail and perhaps an authority for 5, and understood the point of 12. We may at least be sure that he quoted Sallust (*Hist.* 4.60) in the same form he gave in his commentary on Terence, being confirmed in this by the Verona Scholia.

Servius distinguishes himself by the clear simplicity which characterizes the great and successful teacher, and conformably with the ideals of lucidity and directness he sweeps aside without obvious reluctance the dusty memorials of Roman scholarship. But if he demonstrates his sense of the commentator's proper business in preferring to explain Virgil from Virgil himself and discarding the abstruse, irrelevant, and dreary knowledge which dazzled Macrobius, he forfeits, as an Orbilius must and as a Macrobius cannot, the title of scholar. An elementary teacher, to reach in due season the end of his curriculum, must every hour turn a Nelson eye to serious problems and refrain from pursuing truth beyond the charted boundaries of the textbook. Servius accepts the reading of Haterianus in Calvus without so much as indicating the existence of a variant: he states as a fact what on the evidence before him is pure conjecture. May Venus be styled *deus*? "Yes," says Servius, "for besides the testimony of a verse in Calvus there is the statue of a bearded Venus in Cyprus." Kindly elucidate, we ask. But no, time will not allow; much more remains of our prescribed text, and we must move on: we may not stay even to hear the alternative explanations. Clearly, if we wish to get to the bottom of an intricate problem, we dare not rely on Servius to conduct us to it.

The Compiler, no doubt, had long savoured the learning of Servius. But we can hardly wonder that, when he fell upon the commentary of Donatus, he determined to enrich his copy of Servius from its contents. However, in embarking on the task of repairing the shortcomings of his old cicerone, he bit off a good deal more than he could chew. We must not blame him for abbreviating; circumstances of which we know nothing may have confined him to a narrow compass of time and space. Nevertheless, he is revealed as a hack, without taste or learning or brains. Within the confines of this single note he unbares his appalling limitations: he passes over, if he ever noticed, Servius' misrepresentation of the textual evidence of 3, content merely to start where Servius had left off; he omits all the authorities meticulously indicated by Donatus (who may have named more in 12 and 13); where the latter cites Aristophanes as referring to a bisexual Aphroditos, he misapplies the citation to the Cyprian statue, suppressing Aristophanes' name and mendaciously attributing the remark to a plurality of sources (as at *Georg.* 3.89 he wrote *poetae Graeculi* where Donatus, as we know from the Bern Scholia, had specified *Alcman lyricus*); and out of the mutually exclusive 12 and 13 he has produced a single piece of nonsense. Yet he is never tired of tampering with Donatus' Latin and frustrating a Travis' endeavour to identify it: in 6 he has changed an *ac* to an *et*, in 8 he substitutes the verb *uocare* for *appellare*, 11 is recast, with the preposition *cum* twice changed to *in*, and in 13 he omits a stylishly placed adverb from the fragment of Sallust. Possibly this is an error of the source *f*, as *natura* (*f*) is here assumed to be an error for the correct *statura* in 6. But in 11 the uncouth Latin is his: Clausen would delete the second *ueste* and rightly, in the sense that it derives from an original without it;¹³ but in the DS text it is genuine, that is to say, it is a word deliberately written by the author of the sentence in which it occurs; this naive repetition is a characteristic of the man's dreadful Latin style (as Clausen's parallels show), and in this case, at least, we can see that we shall not restore Donatus' *ipsissima verba* by adjusting this feature alone. Thus does a single scholium disclose what a pale shadow of Donatus we possess in Servius Auctus. Yet without Macrobius to inform us we should hardly have known of the ruthless omissions and petty trifling of the Compiler.

For an editor of these commentaries the lesson is plain: he cannot pretend to be able to restore Donatus; he must take as his principal goal the establishment of the Servian text and clearly indicate the

¹³ Wendell Clausen, "Adnotatiunculae in Servium," *HSCP* 71 (1967) 58.

differences (whether addition, omission, or amendment) of the DS text. How far the extra material, D, represents the words or even the thought of Donatus rather than the Compiler cannot be formulated in a general proposition: each case must be examined separately, and with distressing frequency an editor will find himself devoid of a basis for reaching precise conclusions.

3. THE PREFACE TO DONATUS' COMMENTARY

In his review of *Ed. Harv.* II Fraenkel complained that no attempt had been made to break up scholia into their separate parts, a valid criticism, but one applying to all editions of Servius, and in some measure to Servius himself, in whose work, as in much late Latin exegesis, comment frequently rambles on in a continuous and even confused sequence. The criticism applies also to the Lives of Virgil, no edition of which presents the material in a way permitting easy comparison and analysis. Anyone whose avocations take him to the *Vita Donati* in the Oxford text may be pardoned for wondering, as he takes a first glance round, whether he has strayed into a slum area, crying out for someone to clean up the confusing litter of posters and give the place a fresh coat of paint.

To drop the metaphor, let us discard every system of reference for Donatus save Hagen's section numbers; and let us supply a like set for Servius, as follows:

1 in . . . explanatio	12 et . . . oculis
2 Vergilii . . . est	13 titulus . . . Codri
3 patre . . . Venetiae	14 qualitas . . . loquentes
4 diuersis . . . studuit	15 est . . . compositum
5 adeo . . . fuit	16 est . . . grandiloquum
6 primum . . . Diras	17 intentio . . . Iulo
7 postea . . . emendasse	18 de . . . C
8 item . . . annis	19 ordo . . . Vergilium
9 postea . . . incendi	20 sola . . . sufficiat
10 Augustus . . . tamen	21 nam . . . obseruatio
11 unde . . . cano	22 sciendum . . . profanis

This will enable us to see the texts as they were originally designed.

DONATUS, *Praef. Buc.*

1-5	VITA (a) Origo
6-7	(b) Domicilium

SERVIUS, *Praef. Aen.*

1	Schema
2-3	VITA (a) Origo
4	(b) Domicilium

8-12	(c) Habitus	5	(c) Habitus
13-14	(d) Fortuna		
15-34	(e) Res gestae	6-12	(d) Res gestae [...]
35-36	(f) Obitus		
37-42	(g) Testamentum		
43-46	(h) Testimonia		...]
47-49	TITULUS	13	TITULUS
50	CAUSA	14-16	QUALITAS
51-57	(a) ab origine		
58-63	(b) a uoluntate		
64-66	INTENTIO	17	INTENTIO
67-68	NUMERUS	18	NUMERUS
69	ORDO	19	ORDO
70-72	EXPLANATIO	20-22	EXPLANATIO

In like fashion Servius' introduction to the *Eclogues* will appear in *Ed. Harv.* I divided up into sections, with headings added in italics to aid the eye.

Servius' general dependence on Donatus is obvious. Thilo's conjecture of a lacuna after Serv. *Vit.* 12 adequately accounts for the failure to mention Virgil's death and the matter said by Servius at *Praef. Buc.* 20 to have been included in his *Vita*. One cannot gainsay Fraenkel that the section *periit . . . duces*, accepted in *Ed. Harv.* II (p. 3) as genuine, is an interpolation: indeed, it is difficult to believe that VWN, the σ group of Servian manuscripts, really do preserve a genuine tradition independent of all the others; they belong to the **F** tradition, which they represent less reliably than B and M; when they come up with some striking reading, those that are not transparent conjectures all seem to derive from the DS tradition, whence they are interpolated.

Some have held that the Servian Life does not survive in its original state, that its exiguous form and manifest inferiority to Donatus' point to its being a mere excerpt. The argument lacks cogency, for the lacuna posited by Thilo will have contained all we have reason to believe is lost; and the statement at *Aen.* 7.1 *ut in principio diximus* refers to *Aen.* 1.1 *prius de erroribus Aeneae dicit, post de bello*. Moreover, it fails to appreciate the peculiar interests of Servius, who was a literary man and evinced no aptitude or enthusiasm for historical research. Quintilian (1.8.18) had advised the teacher of literature to comment on the historical background, modifying his precept, however, with the injunction *non tamen usque ad superuacuum laborem*. This was a warning which Servius took to heart. He makes no independent attempt to deal with historical matters, and will suddenly reveal the most appalling ignorance, thinking, for example, that Julius Caesar was

murdered in May (*Praef. Buc.* 13; *Georg.* 1.466), confusing Varus the poet with Varus the general (*Buc.* 6.6), and evidently believing that the campaign of Actium took place during the composition of the *Eclogues* (*Buc.* 9.67).

The great disparity between Donatus' detailed Life and Servius' threadbare one (which even before the lacuna we see degenerating into literary charivari) comes therefore as no shock. Nor shall we be surprised that the Compiler, on comparing with the Life in his Servius the ampler and much more satisfactory one he found at the beginning of the D Commentary, seems to have decided — as all scholars confronted with the choice have done — to abandon Servius and embrace Donatus. Imagine his situation: before him he has his new-found Donatus (Dp-De-Dg-Da) and his own manuscript (Sp-Sa-Se-Sg), destined after he has entered all his notes and additions to become the DS commentary; he seems to have marked the Servian Life for deletion, and substituted in its place the preface to Donatus. Thus the final result was Dp-DSa-DSe-DSg.

The facts seem to admit no other explanation. The DS manuscript containing *Aen.* 1-2 lacks the Servian Life and quite obviously by design, for in the scholium on 1.1, where Servius wrote *sicut in praemissa eiusdem uita monstratum est*, the Compiler has deleted *eiusdem uita* and substituted *narratione*, referring to the preface to the *Aeneid* proper. The curious preservation of the beginning of Donatus' commentary is thus explained: to be quite accurate, it consists of the dedicatory letter, the Life, and the special preface to the *Eclogues* (all preserved in Par. Lat. 11308, a manuscript connected with the DS tradition). It would be otherwise very difficult to explain why this much, and no more, of Donatus' commentary was transcribed verbatim. This consideration puts a coping stone on the theory that Donatus is the author of the D commentary: all the other evidence has won for that theory a high degree of probability, but here we can connect the actual name and text of Donatus with the compilation of the DS commentary. This final proof receives a yet further reinforcement.

Scholars have always felt somewhat perplexed at the anonymous character of the DS manuscripts, and a little uneasy that none of the primary manuscripts for the *Vita Donati* actually ascribes it to Donatus. These circumstances turn out to be a necessary consequence of what has been sketched above. In enlarging his Servius with copious additions from Donatus and extra exegesis from himself, the Compiler was planning a large variorum edition of his own — very much as Adamnanus, abbot of Iona from 679 to 704, had fused together scholia of

Servius and other commentators in the margins of a text of Virgil to produce that tohubohu which Funaioli in his *Esegesi Virgiliana antica*, the bible of these studies, calls the Filagrian Sylloge and which survives in the Bern Scholia, the two sets of *Explanationes* of the so-called Philargyrius, and the *Brevis expositio*. The Compiler had of necessity to expunge all indications of authorship. Where he transcribed a scholium from Donatus including the words *ut supra diximus*, he altered them to *ut supra dictum est*; where Servius said *ut supra diximus*, he altered that, too. Where in his manuscript had been written COMMENTARIII SERVII GRAMMATICI (or the like) out came his pen to delete it; and the same treatment befell the title COMMENTARIII DONATI GRAMMATICI at the head of the Life of Virgil. That he preserved the text of Donatus' dedicatory letter is surprising. But this may be the Compiler's whimsy; and otherwise to account for its survival would be very difficult.

It was Rand's belief that the DS Commentary was originally divided into several volumes. Whether or no this be true, the manuscript tradition of the Compilation Dp-DSa-DSe-DSg descends to us in separate streams. Dp may be deferred for a moment. DSa is principally represented by the codex Cassellanus (following Thilo and dissenting from *Ed. Harv.* II we identify this as Daniel's Fuldensis),¹⁴ which contains the full DS commentary for *Aen.* 1 and 2 only, and by the Floriacensis (= Bern. 172 + Par. Lat. 7929), which, though containing the whole poem, has DS comment only for Book 3 and onwards. For DSe-DSg we have only the extant portion of the Lemovicensis (Leid. Voss. O.80), which begins at *Buc.* 4.1 and ends at *Georg.* 1.278. Savage observes that the missing initial quires, known to be three in number, could not have contained the DS commentary (i.e., S + the Compiler's additions from D) for the whole of *Buc.* 1-3.¹⁵ By our calculations, based on a ratio of S 58 to D 42, they would just have held DS *Buc.* 2.11-4.1. Now *Buc.* 2.11 is a significant place. All our manuscripts of Servius lack *Buc.* 1.37-2.10, and probably the Compiler's lacked it, too. But except by the tallest coincidence Donatus will have supplied this great lacuna. We are tempted to wonder if the Compiler took a short cut in building up his DS edition by simply transferring Dp + De (1.1-2.10) to his own manuscript. This would explain the otherwise

¹⁴ Thilo (above, n. 11) xlviii-lvii. On this matter a sharp dissent from the opinions of the Harvard editors was included in his review by Rodney P. Robinson, *CW* 43 (1950) 232f.

¹⁵ John J. H. Savage, "The Manuscripts of the Commentary of Servius Danielis on Virgil," *HSCP* 43 (1932) 81 and n. 1.

remarkable preservation of Dpe; and it may explain why *diximus* and other personal verbs have not been altered in Don. *Praef. Buc.* 47, 58, 66, 69, 70. But if so, like other sections of DS, that containing *Buc.* 1.1-2.10 is now lost.

In the DS Commentary, as we envisage it, none of the sections Dp, DSA1-2, DSA3-12, DSe-DSg bore any indication of authorship, though in the case of the preface the dedicatory letter (Dd) would furnish a pretty strong hint that the Life (Dv) and the preface to the *Eclogues* (Dpe) were the work of Donatus. If, however, a scribe were to copy out Dv and Dpe only, the transcript would not show Donatus' name at all. This explains why the primary manuscripts MERABG (Dv-Dpe) are without ascription; only P (Dd-Dv-Dpe) contains the name of Donatus (EL DONATVS in the salutation), and not until the twelfth century has this clue been spread abroad and brought about the correct ascription in later copies of the Life.

Critics inimical to the above theory will suggest that the Donatian Life and preface to the *Eclogues* survived only as a convenient introduction to the text of Virgil and have nothing to do with DS. However, to say nothing of the manuscript affiliations involved, this will mean postulating that *two* copies of Donatus survived into the Middle Ages. Most improbable.

We seize this moment to advert on a marginal reference in Bern. 363 (fol. 41b), the significance of which was detected by Savage:¹⁶ *Donatus alter qui in totum Virgilium exposuit in Leotica*, rendered by Lindsay as: "The Donatus alluded to here as a Virgil-commentator is not the well-known Donatus [i.e., Tiberius Claudius Donatus], but a second Donatus, who wrote a commentary on the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as well as on the *Aeneid*. There is a manuscript of his commentary at Liège." Perhaps this was — not Donatus — but the DS Commentary itself.

4. A CROSS-REFERENCE IN THE SERVIAN LIFE

The Compiler, we have seen, was in the habit of transferring portions of Servian scholia to other parts of Servius indicated by cross-references. The decision to discard the Servian Life in favour of that by Donatus gave him a special reason to indulge his practice here, for no collector likes to throw away that for which a suitable receptacle exists. The

¹⁶ John J. H. Savage, "The Manuscripts of Servius's Commentary on Virgil," *HSCP* 45 (1934) 191.

Servian Life contains more than one reference to passages in Virgil's text, and the first of these prompted the Compiler to action.

SERVIUS (*Praef. Aen.* =) *Vita* 7 SERVIUS AUCTUS *Buc.* 9.28b

postea ortis bellis ciuilibus inter
Antonium et Augustum, Augustus
uictor Cremonensium agros, quia pro
Antonio senserant, dedit militibus
suis. qui cum non sufficerent, his
addidit agros Mantuanos, sublato
non propter ciuium culpam, sed
propter uicinitatem
Cremonensium; unde ipse in
Bucolicis (9.28): "Mantua uae
miserae nimium uicina Cremonae."

NIMIVM autem VICINA id est
usque ad periculum,
*nam ortis bellis ciuilibus inter
Antonium et Augustum, Augustus
uictor Cremonensium agros, quia pro
Antonio senserant, dedit militibus
suis. qui cum non sufficerent, his
addidit agros Mantuanos, sublato
non propter ciuium culpam, sed
propter uicinitatem.*

As Murgia pointed out to the writer some years ago, the D addition here comes straight from Servius: its egregious error, that Antony had suffered defeat at the hands of Augustus before the composition of the ninth *Eclogue*, has already been noted as a delusion of Servius; Donatus, on the other hand, gives in *Vit.* 19 a version which, besides its fuller detail, accords with historical fact. Notice the Compiler's fussy *autem*. We must not overlook a puzzling textual variation: in Servius all manuscripts give *sufficerent* (except V, which has *suffecissent*); Servius Auctus has *sufficissent*, an obvious error, altered by a later hand to *suffecissent*. Servius repeats in slightly different language the same account at *Praef. Buc.* 13, where all manuscripts (V is illegible) attest *sufficerent*: because of the syllable *-fic-* in L one is inclined to assume that the DS version gave *sufficerent*, too. It seems that V, remarkably, has at Serv. *Vit.* 7 suffered interpolation from DS *Buc.* 9.28, a strange but not impossible state of affairs, since for the *Georgics* V gives a Servian text with DS excerpts loosely inserted into it.

5. THE EDITIO PRINCEPS OF THE AENEID

Since the two other references to Virgil's text in the Servian Life involve discussion of the posthumous editing of the *Aeneid*, let us begin with our fullest and most trustworthy source, Donatus' Life 37-41. The remaining Lives all derive from Donatus', being contracted from it and augmented with material, mostly transparent fabrications,

drawn from other sources: one examines them only in case they have secured something of value from Jerome, who used Suetonius as a source. As we shall see later, Jerome's testimony does not much affect the present point of discussion. Now, the thesis that Donatus substantially reproduces Suetonius' Life of Virgil, though long no more than an article of faith, received in 1938 a brilliant proof from Heinrich Naumann.¹⁷ Defending the high authority of the Life against the attacks of Valmaggli, Klotz, and Wieser, he built on Donatus' use of Suetonius' *Vita Terenti* by pointing out small but recognizable differences of view between Donatus' Life and Donatus' preface to the *Eclogues* and meticulously demonstrating the Suetonian grammar and style of the Life. His conclusions, closely scrutinized by Geer, Paratore, and Bayer in the last thirty years,¹⁸ will require some adjustments, but in the passage now to be cited he has secured the full approbation of his challengers. This being so, we anticipate the reader's permission to dispense with a formal proof that, excepting only the bracketed section, we are here perusing Suetonius.

37 heredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum, fratrem alio patre, ex quarta Augustum, ex duodecima Maecenatem, ex reliqua L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam. [qui eius Aeneida post obitum iussu Caesaris emendauerunt.

38 de qua re Sulpicii Carthaginensis extant huiusmodi uersus:

iusserat haec rapidis adoleri carmina flammis
Vergilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.
Tucca uetat Variusque; simul tu, maxime Caesar,
non sinis et Latiae consulis historiae.
infelix gemino cecidit prope Pergamon igni,
et paene est alio Troia cremata rogo.]

39 egerat cum Vario, priusquam Italia decederet, ut si quid sibi accidisset, Aeneida combureret; at is facturum se pernegarat; igitur in extreme uoletudine assidue scrinia desiderauit, crematurus ipse; uerum nemine offerente nihil quidem nominatim de ea cauit.

40 ceterum eidem Vario ac simul Tuccae scripta sua sub ea condicione legauit, ne quid ederent, quod non a se editum esset.

41 edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui uersus etiam imperfectos . . . reliquerit . . .

¹⁷ Heinrich Naumann, "Suetons Vergilvita," *RhM* 87 (1938) 334-376.

¹⁸ R. M. Geer, "Non-Suetonian Passages in the Life of Virgil Formerly Ascribed to Donatus," *TAPA* 57 (1926) 107-115; E. Paratore, *Una nuova ricostruzione del "De Poetis" di Suetonio* (Rome 1946) 117ff; K. Bayer, *Der Suetonische Kern und die späteren Zusätze der Vergilvita* (diss. Munich 1952).

38 adoleri *Rostagni ex Gell.* 17.10.7: aboleri *codd.*

Suetonius gives a clear and consistent account. Virgil had willed his papers jointly to his friends Varius and Tucca, forbidding them to publish anything not already published by himself. Before embarking on his journey to Greece, he had unsuccessfully attempted to secure from Varius — who is thus revealed as Virgil's chief confidant — a promise that in case of his death the manuscript of the *Aeneid* would be consigned to the flames. In the event, Augustus commanded Varius — again indicated as the principal executor — to edit the poem, which he did, says Suetonius, in such a way as to leave half-lines; and the singular verb confirms that Varius discharged the task.

Corroboration is supplied in the only other passage in the *Life* to refer to the matter, (42) *Nisus... aiebat Varium... commutasse et... transtulisse, etiam correxisse...* The evidence permits no doubt: Varius, and only Varius, edited the *Aeneid*.

Of course, Tucca, as a close friend of Varius' and with him a co-inheritor of Virgil's papers, will have been consulted by Varius. But editing a manuscript is a one-man job, and Tucca probably did no more than endorse Augustus' charge to Varius and leave him to get on with it. The association of Varius and Tucca as co-inheritors caused many to assume that Tucca was invested with joint responsibility for publishing the *Aeneid* and to refer to the two of them loosely as the editors. Donatus is perhaps beguiled into this loose talk out of a desire to effect a connection between Suetonius and the verses of Sulpicius which he cannot bear to part with: thus we read (37): *L. Varium et Plotium Tuccam, qui eius Aeneida post obitum iussu Caesaris emendauerunt.* And it looks very much as if this sentence is the source of Jerome (*Chron.* 166e14): *Varius et Tucca... qui eius Aeneidum postea libros emendarunt.*

The poem of Sulpicius does not actually make Varius and Tucca co-editors, but merely unites them as opposed to Virgil's wishes. Why has Varius here surrendered his place of primacy to Tucca? That is easily answered. Varius will not scan as the first word of a verse in the elegiac metre: the poet was obliged to reverse the proper order. Any sources, therefore, which speak of Tucca and Varius in that sequence we may suspect of being influenced by these verses.

The principal one is Servius. We may dismiss the *Life* of the so-called Probus, a corrupt and garbled account which is universally acknowledged to depend on Servius. Four times Servius refers to the editorship of "Tucca and Varius."

(1) S *Aen.* 4.436 . . . DEDERIS CVMVLATAM . . . quam lectionem
Tucca et Varius probant. nam male quidam legunt . . . DEDERIT . . .
CVMVLATA . . .

This verse, says Conington, is "well known as the most difficult in Virgil." Variant readings, as Servius' note reveals, existed in his own day; and the reference to "Tucca and Varius" — as if the *editio princeps* of the *Aeneid* boasted an apparatus criticus! — shows only, what we have come to expect from Servius, that he is inventing an authority for his statement. Even on the most favourable interpretation he can only mean that *dederis cumulatam* was the reading of the first edition. But *extremam hanc . . . dederit* certainly seems confirmed by the parallelism with 429 *extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti*. DEDERIS is no more than an incorrect conjecture based on the parenthesis *miserere sororis* ("pardon your sister's weakness").

(2) S *Aen.* 5.871 . . . sciendum sane Tuccamet Varium hunc finem quinti esse uoluisse: nam a Vergilio duo uersus sequentes huic iuncti fuerunt: unde in nonnullis antiquis codicibus sexti initium est "obuertunt pelago proras, tum dente tenaci."

If Virgil had ended Book 5 with (6.2) . . . *adlabitur oris*, no problem would have arisen. It is difficult to visualize an editor transferring the two lines forward to the next book, if in fact Virgil placed them at the end of this one. On the other hand, it is easy to conceive of Virgil copying Homer's book-enjambment (cf. *Od.* 12-13; *Aen.* 1-2) and placing them at the head of Book 6, and dissatisfied or puzzled critics transferring them back to the end of the previous book. Indeed, Ribbeck has done so. And so did Probus in antiquity, causing texts so corrupted to appear in circulation (Serv. *Aen.* 6.1). Servius knew what the canonical text gave, but at the same time he felt sympathy with Probus' opinion. His own invented "Tucca and Varius" enabled him to confer authority on both views.

(3) S *Aen.* 7.464 FVRIT INTVS AQVAI / FVMIDVS . . . hanc autem diaeresin Tucca et Varius fecerunt: nam Vergilius sic reliquerat "furit intus aquae amnis" et ". . . exuberat amnis": quod satis asperum fuit.

The statement passes belief and must be rejected out of hand. Again Servius is attempting to settle a textual crux by imputing to Virgil what is plainly a corruption and to "Tucca and Varius" what is plainly the original reading. The actual sequence was surely that *aquai* (*ed. princ.*) was in some texts corrupted to *aquae*, then miscorrected to *aquae uis* or the ghastly *aquae amnis*. With F and R the manuscripts

of Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.11.23) proffer *aquae uis*, but, as Bentley acutely remarks, Macrobius' paraphrase of the crux, *amnem fumidum exuberantem spumis atque intus furentem*, suggests that he read *aquai*.¹⁹

Such editorial misconceptions constitute no unique phenomenon, for in the text of Euripides we encounter the same situation, with Apollodorus of Tarsus and Didymus playing the role of Servius to the "Tucca and Varius" of "the actors."²⁰ In these three passages, then, we hope to have established that Servius has not the slightest authority for referring to "Tucca and Varius." Irrefutable evidence will be forthcoming in a fourth passage, discussion of which will suitably fit in with discussion of the next cross-reference in the Servian Life.

6. ILLE EGO QVI QVONDAM . . .

First let us set the passage beside the relevant portion of Donatus, square brackets again being employed to indicate non-Suetonian material.

DONATUS (*Praef. Buc.* =)
Vita 41

41 edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui uersus etiam imperfectos [sicut erant] reliquerit; quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde ualuerunt [ob difficultatem quod omnia fere apud eum hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praeter illud (*Aen.* 3. 340): "quem tibi iam Troia."]

42 Nisus grammaticus audisse se a senioribus aiebat, Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutasse, et qui nunc secundus sit in tertium locum transtulisse, etiam primi libri correxisse principium, his uersibus demptis:

SERVIUS (*Praef. Aen.* =)
Vita 10

10 Augustus uero, ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege iussit emendare, ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen.

11 unde et semiplenos eius inuenimus uersiculos, ut (*Aen.* 1.534) "hic cursus fuit," et aliquos detractos, ut in principio, nam ab armis non coepit, sed sic:

¹⁹ Cf. A. Stachelscheid, "Bentleys Emendationen von Macrobius," *RhM* 36 (1881) 324-326.

²⁰ Cf. G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 253f and n. 1, p. 254.

ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus auena
carmen, et egressus siluis uicina coegi
ut quamuis auido parerent arua colono,
gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis —
arma uirumque cano.

41 sicut Gronovius: si qui codd.

42 uix sanum duorum del. Reifferscheid, idem post sit add. in primum, tertium in secundum, et primum coll. Seru. Praef. Aen. 19

We are unable to dogmatize about this part of the Donatian Life. Bayer hesitatingly denies to Suetonius (41) *sicut erant* but confidently repudiates *ob difficultatem . . . iam Troia*. For Paratore it is section 42 which Donatus has added. Actually it does not matter, for the crucial report goes back to one Nisus, "who used to say that he had heard the following account from older men," presumably contemporaries of Varius. This suggests that the writer lived himself not much later than Nisus, namely is Suetonius rather than Donatus. But it does not matter. The author of the Life shows here a proper sense of handling evidence. He undertakes no responsibility for the truth of the account, he merely repeats it: a professor *used to say* (so that there is no suggestion that his statement was a written one, though we know he did write: a work of his is cited by Priscian, *GL* 2.503.16), and used to say that *he had heard from older men* (so that the account is gossip: no documents are mentioned, no informant named). In short, the account has by external criteria very little evidential value.

Nor does it acquire from its internal merits the slightest hold upon our credence. Varius cannot possibly have arranged the books of the *Aeneid* as we have it, for the unassailable reason that the contents of the poem demand the order we have and permit no other. What Nisus heard is false. But it is not meaningless. Sabbadini and others have shown that Book 3, though in its present form a part of Aeneas' narration to Dido, bears many indications of having at an earlier stage of composition occupied a different place in the sequence and been written as proceeding from the poet's own lips. Detected soon after publication, the difficulty was explained — as we have just seen others explained by Servius — as arising from editorial manipulation.

We can never know precisely what Varius allowed himself in editing Virgil's manuscripts. Who has ever doubted his fitness for the charge? He was of that select little company for whom Horace (*Serm.* 1.5.41f), not a man given to extravagant affection, has issued an incontestable

voucher: *animae qualis neque candidiores / terra tulit, neque quis me sit deuinctior alter*. To his own work time has denied immortality, but the Romans esteemed it as deserving that reward. He, if anyone, was qualified to smooth over with his own composition such marks of incompleteness as a sensitive artist might deem unsightly in a poem so close to perfection. Significant that no carping critic ever rose to accuse him of a less than satisfactory performance; and if no devotee of Virgil has ever said "well done," why, that in itself is the consummation of praise. It is all too plain that the *Aeneid* was in fact *summatim emendata*, "minimally touched," so that even half-lines were published as the poet left them: with such respect the editor treated the poet's creation.

Nisus' hearsay evidence about the alleged prooemium *ille ego* is equally worthless. Of course the lines (which, let us confess, are superb) were never written by Virgil. Like the four verses of *Catalepton* 15 and the quatrain introducing our texts of Ovid's *Amores*, they belong to that small genre of verse which may be styled editorial. Their *raison d'être* has nothing to do with epic poetry but springs from an editor's desire to produce an attractive volume. Brandt has placed beyond doubt their epigrammatic nature (cf. *CIL* III 3676; VI 1372, 1692, 11407; XI 1122), convincingly deducing from Mart. 12.186.2 that they were designed for a frontispiece of Virgil in an edition de luxe of the *Aeneid*.²¹ The author of the verses had no intention to deceive. What happened was that some readers of this handsome edition were beguiled by the word *ego* into a firm conviction that the lines were authentic, just as others on reading *Mantua me genuit* saw in the pronoun proof that the poet himself had composed the couplet. Even more than the *ille ego* Virgil's epitaph merits the highest praise: its economical but elegant precision coupled with its restraint in suppressing the poet's name and fame places it among the most successful examples of lapidary verse. Naturally, even the gullible realized that Virgil could not have written it without knowing of his death in Brundisium, hence Jerome (*Chron.* 165h21) refers to the inscription as *quem moriens ipse dictauerat*.

On turning to Servius (*Praef. Aen.* 10f) we learn more or less the same story, but with a shocking difference. It is not so much that Servius swallows with shut eyes and open mouth what Donatus had without obvious sign of acceptance or rejection reported dispassionately. The distressing thing is that Servius alters, nay he fabricates, the evidence to suit his beliefs. The alleged deletion of the *ille*

²¹ Edward Brandt, "Zum Aeneisprooemium," *Philol.* 83 (1927) 331-335.

ego, which, as we have seen, rested upon the vaguest of oral reports, has been elevated by him to fact as solid and self-evident as the half-lines we observe in our texts. From the report, moreover, he has guessed and, having guessed, proclaimed as fact the principles under which the editor (or rather "Tucca and Varius") worked: they were commanded to remove *superflua* (as if there were reason to believe that needless passages would be found in the draft *Aeneid*), as they were forbidden to complete half-lines (as if Augustus knew that any would be found). Servius is not alone to blame. When Jerome writes (*Chron.* 166e14): *Varius et Tucca . . . emendarunt sub ea lege ut nihil adderent*, he is reporting observed fact as though it were designed; as Leo remarks, "dass nichts zugefügt war, sah freilich jeder, der die halben Verse sah."²² Nor can a critical judgement heed Bill's plea that Servius knows of many passages removed by Tucca and Varius when he says *ut in principio*, "as for example at the beginning."²³ This sounds like the man not sure of his facts. We find no "for example" in Donatus, who retails a much more careful version of the matter, and must wonder if Servius is not letting his tongue run away with him. Interestingly, he perceives that "Tucca and Varius" could not have altered the order of the books of the *Aeneid*; as a result, this item is suppressed and only mentioned for ridicule in *Praef. Aen.* 19: *licet quidam superflue dicant . . .* "though there are those who needlessly assert . . ." We detect again the attitude of the elementary teacher, who must concentrate on essentials and pass over all needless detail.

The Compiler was not much concerned about the Servian Life. Donatus' version gave him much more. As we have concluded above, he seems to have marked the Servian Life for deletion but salvaged part of section 7 by transferring it to *Buc.* 9.28, to which it contained a reference. Thus at the beginning of the DS *Aeneid* commentary we should expect no Life, but merely the special preface (13): *titulus est Aeneis*, etc.

Actually we find the abbreviated and evidently headless remains of Serv. *Praef. Aen.* 11 and 12. The scribe of the Cassellanus has mistaken the initial words as the beginning of the DS commentary, as is shown by the majuscles he uses. Apparently the Compiler deleted everything down to *nam ab armis*, which he will have slightly modified, somewhat as is here suggested.

²² Friedrich Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*² (Berlin 1912) 41.

²³ Clarence P. Bill, "Vergiliana," *CP* 27 (1932) 168-171.

SERVIUS (*Praef. Aen.* =)*Vita* 11

11 . . . et aliquos detractos,
ut in principio, nam ab armis
non coepit, sed sic: ille ego
. . . at nunc horrentia Martis —
arma uirumque cano.

12 et in secundo hos uersus
constat esse detractos: . . .

13 titulus est Aeneis . . .

SERVIUS AUCTUS

Praef. Aen. ad init.

< *Vergilium constat in principio
ab armis non coepisse, sed sic:
ille ego . . . at nunc horrentia
Martis* >

*ARMA VIRVMQVE CANO ET IN
SECVNDO LIBRO ALIQVOS
VERSVS POSVERAT*

*quos constat esse detractos . . .
titulus est Aeneis . . .*

It is to this passage so constituted that the Compiler's reference at D *Aen.* 1.1 (*in praemissa narratione*) will then allude. Elder, followed by Rowell, argues that, when the scribe of C (or of its exemplar) addressed himself to the task of transcribing the DS Commentary, the first page was missing, and so he began at the first words preserved: *arma uirumque cano*.²⁴ Strange that such famous words should by chance come at the top of page 3. This is stretching coincidence too far. Moreover, the scribe's use of majuscules (such as one uses in titles) shows that he believed that he really was beginning the commentary.

It is more likely that the marks of the deletion postulated above obscured the actual place where the beginning was intended. The scribe was none too bright, but he knew the opening words of the *Aeneid*, and consequently began his apograph two or three lines lower than he should have done.

PART TWO: THE HELEN EPISODE

7. THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

Possibly the Compiler was induced to retain a note about *ille ego* (which, after all, he had in the Donatian Life) by the scholium on *Aen.* 1.1. He had no compelling reason to keep mention of it — and out of place, too — before the *Titulus* section of the *Aeneid* preface. But he may have been encouraged by a greater difficulty he faced in connection with the Helen verses. These are referred to three times: in the Preface (S/DS); at 2.566 (DS); and at 2.592 (S/DS). Consider the last passage first.

²⁴ J. P. Elder, *De Serui Commentarii Danielinis, ut aiunt, in Aeneidos libros primum et secundum confectis* (diss. Harvard 1940) 148; Rowell (above, n. 2) 216f.

S/DS *Aen.* 2.592a DEXTRAQVE PREHENSVM ea corporis parte qua ictum Helenae minabatur, quae in templo Vestae stabat ornata. ut enim in primo diximus, aliquos | dictum est, uersus illos qui hinc uersus | superius (566) notati sunt, hinc constat esse sublato, nec immerito. nam et . . . Lacaenae.

The note, embedded in Servius' commentary, elucidates 592 *dextraque prehensum* in the light of the Helen Episode (for the text of which Servius refers his reader back to the Preface) and approves of the assumed decision of the editors to remove them. For the moment we merely observe that Servius' solution of a difficulty in the canonical text — here a break in Virgil's composition rather like the half-lines (*quos multi mox supplere conati*, we may remember) — follows a pattern noticed earlier. He imputes to Virgil a seemingly unacceptable text (location of Helen in a place contradicted by *Aen.* 6.523ff) and imputes to "Tucca and Varius" correction to the initial difficulty. The version of Servius Auctus is identical, except for deviations characteristic of the Compiler's activity. That is to say, we are to infer that the Compiler found nothing in the D commentary, the commentary of Donatus, to add to or subtract from or with which to modify the Servian text: the changes he made, he made purely on his own account. They are (a) his customary substitution of *dictum est* for *diximus*, and (b) alteration of the reference from *in primo* to *superius*, i.e., from *Praef. Aen.* to *Aen.* 2.566. The second change was forced upon him by his earlier decision to suppress the Servian Life and move suitable material in that Life to relevant places in the body of the Servian commentary. Let us now look at the passage to which Servius referred back.

SERVIUS (*Praef. Aen.* =)
Vita 12

12 et in secundo hos uersus constat esse detractos: "aut ignibus aegra dedere — iamque adeo . . . mente ferebar — cum mihi se non ante oculis."

SERVIUS AUCTUS
Praef. Aen. ad init.

et in secundo libro aliquos uersus posuerat quos constat esse detractos, quos inueniemus cum peruenerimus ad locum de quo detracti sunt.

Besides the Compiler's characteristic cross-reference ahead, *inueniemus* (probably the correction of Modius: *-imus* the Cassellanus), we note his clumsy and overexpressed Latin: *libro* added to *secundo*; *aliquos* for *aliquot* (which we should refrain from conjecturing with Ribbeck);

relative piled upon relative, *quos . . . quos . . .*; and the repetitiousness of *esse detractos . . . de quo detracti sunt*. A further consideration yields decisive proof. If the text of the verses were original to the D commentary (Fraenkel, Rowell) and given at the appropriate place in that commentary, that is, at D *Aen.* 2.566, the question of their deletion by the editors would have been discussed at the same time. In other words, instead of two notes, one at 2.566 and another at 2.592, we should have encountered only one. On this point Servius makes sense: the Helen Episode is given in the preface as noncanonical and not qualifying for annotation, and in his commentary he only alludes to the passage when confronted with words of Virgil's text which provide a suitable opening for the subject — not 566, but 592. An original D scholium (= Donatus) at 2.566 would have dispensed with the need for comment at *Aen.* 2.592, just as the D scholium at *Aen.* 1.689 dispensed with the need for comment at *Aen.* 1.695, where in fact the Compiler has excised the Servian note. We proceed to the third reference.

D *Aen.* 2.566 *IGNIBVS AEGRA DEDERE post hunc uersum hi uersus fuerunt, qui a Tucce et Vario sublati sunt: "iamque adeo . . . mente ferebar."*

qui a Tucce et Vario sublati *Bergk* quia tucce et uarius obliti C quos Tucce et Var(r)us obliti *Modius* copying C, *vulg.* qui a Tucce et Vario obliti *Thilo, Ed. Harv.* ferebar *Daniel ex Serv.*: loquebatur C: loquebar *Modius*

To establish the text first: *loquebatur* (sc. *Aeneas*) has probably crept in from a gloss explaining that Aeneas has been reporting his own words in direct speech from 577; and no one seems to doubt that the Servian *ferebar* is the original reading. No one, however, seems to understand that *Bergk's* *sublati* is mandatory. Aided perhaps by *qui a* becoming *quia*, transposition of vowels produced *uariusobliti*, misdivided as *uarius obliti*. Whoever made the correction to *obliti* (probably the scribe of C) must have intended the verb *obliuiscor*. By chance *obliti* is a legitimate form from *oblino*, and everybody these days so construes it. The resulting sense, however, "blotted over," is not quite appropriate to the context: this requires a word meaning "removed," and *sublati* is guaranteed by being the verb used in the scholium to 2.592.

The combination "Tucce and Varius" points to the Servian origin of the scholium. The Compiler has followed up his plan of transferring the passage from Serv. *Praef. Aen.* 12, being sent to this particular spot — rather than 592 a few lines lower — by the catchwords (566) *aut ignibus aegra dedere* given by Servius (and hence the precise gloss).

Notice the naive style of *post hunc uersum hi uersus*, a footprint of the Compiler's Latin.

We have demonstrated that the authority for the Helen Episode, both for its text and for the statement that it was removed from the poet's manuscript by Tucca and Varius, is Servius. Every word of every mention of it in Servius Auctus derives from Servius and thus possesses no evidential value whatever.

What source supplied Servius with his information? The temptation is to answer: Donatus. Certainly it looks as if Donatus had in two places, at least, quoted noncanonical verses.

(1) D *Aen.* 3.204 *ERRAMVS PELAGO et reliqua.*

*hinc Pelopis gentes Maleaeque sonantia saxa
circumstant pariterque undae terraeque minantur.
pulsamur saeuis et circumsumimur undis.*

hi uersus circumducti inuenti dicuntur et extra paginam in mundo.

The Compiler did not invent this note: he must have taken it from Donatus. As to its substance, we are compelled by its sharp contradiction of the context (the Trojans could not see) to regard it as a fake. Moreover, the faker, whoever he was, has been at some pains to deceive: notice the elaborate embroidery of "circled around . . . and in the margin outside the written page." Worse still, though whether by art or lack of art it is hard to tell, he has fabricated not a continuous passage such as Varius would never have omitted but such an inchoate morsel as might lend an air of verisimilitude to his deception. Mackail's note admirably illustrates the effect he intended. But for us the important point lies in the word *dicuntur*. Donatus did not represent the story as a fact, but merely quoted it as alleged by some Nisus.

(2) D *Aen.* 6.289 *GORGONES . . . sane quidam dicunt uersus alios hos a poeta hoc loco relictos, qui ab eius emendatoribus sublatis sint:*

*Gorgonis in medio portentum immane Medusae,
uiperae circum ora comae, cui sibila torquent
infamesque rigent oculi, mentoque sub imo
serpentum extremis nodantur uincula caudis.*

Here likewise we infer from the words *quidam dicunt* that Donatus did not commit himself to an acceptance of the report (*quidam* is probably the Compiler's: Donatus' practice is to give us the actual name). The verses seem to have been composed as an alternative to 289

by someone who was offended at the plural *Gorgones* and wished to replace it with a description of Medusa.

We conclude then that, if Donatus had quoted the Helen Episode, he would have named or at least indicated his source of information. In any case, his reference in the Life to Varius' editorial procedure rules out the possibility of his believing the passage authentic. The editor effected minimal changes; he left half-lines: he hardly removed a connected passage of twenty-two finished verses. Donatus writes (*Praef. Buc.* = *Vit.* 41) of many attempts to complete the half-lines (Servius quotes one at *Aen.* 8.41, and Seneca *Ep. Mor.* 94.28 gives *Aen.* 10. 284 in a supplemented form), so that we may without rashness infer that some attempts were made to complete other (real or imaginary) unfinished particulars of the poem. Nisus knew of a story that four lines had been removed by Varius. Why should Donatus mention a mere report of the lesser, if he possessed proof of the greater? Clearly, if Donatus knew of the Helen Episode, he regarded it as spurious. Further, if he mentioned it in his commentary, it seems very strange that the Compiler (who had dealings with it in three separate places) added not a single word of Donatus' comment to Servius'. The most reasonable conclusion is that Donatus never mentioned the passage at all.

Whence, then, did Servius get it? Probably from some commentary little used and of no great authority and influence. If the Helen Episode had really been found in Virgil's manuscript and then been excluded by Varius and been later published, then we should have known of this from a source other than Servius. And that not a solitary mention should anywhere occur to confirm or even modify Servius' account of this passage naturally casts more than a penumbra of doubt upon his trustworthiness.

8. SERVIUS' TREATMENT OF HIS SOURCES

Questioning Servius' trustworthiness does not imply impeachment of his honesty. Austin's defence of the Helen Episode includes the words "Servius' good faith."²⁵ This suggests that Servius has uttered his evidence under oath. By no means. Much more appropriate and much closer to the truth are the words Austin penned in the first lines of his article: "Few critics [*rather* 'commentators'] can ever have shown more lighthearted thoughtlessness towards an anxious posterity than Servius in his casual preservation of the 'Helen-Episode.'"

²⁵ R. G. Austin, "Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.567-88," *CQ* 55 (1961) 197.

But Servius had no reason to feel that after ages would regard his work as a unique source of information. "Je crois," says Thomas, "que le Commentaire était *destiné aux écoles* et qu'il résumait l'enseignement que l'auteur avait donné à ses élèves les plus avancés."²⁶ This view derives from a just and accurate appreciation, except that we can now put the name of Donatus, rather than that of Servius, to the one who taught the advanced classes. Rowell has shown that Servius simply passed over Donatus' quotations from Naevius: this was an author not on his list of prescribed books.²⁷ In following up Rowell's research Lloyd has established the general nature of this phenomenon, namely that Servius consistently reduces the older commentator's copious quotations to suit the smaller size and scope of his own work, quotations from some authors (like Cato and Sisenna) being retained and others being passed over altogether, whilst in the case of those who qualify for retention the title and book-number of the work are suppressed.²⁸ In this we must recognize that, so far from disputing the superiority of Donatus as a source of knowledge, Servius is confessing it.

Closer study of Servius makes ever clearer the nature of the complete canvas which we, with so much republican literature lost to us, see in detail only here and there, where the DS commentary permits us a peep at Donatus. Could we cross-examine Servius over his quotation at *Georg.* 3.363, he would cheerfully admit, after consulting his Donatus and other texts, that he really meant the other Flaccus: not Persius, but Horace. If we pointed out to him that at *Aen.* 1.435 and *Georg.* 4.286 he has cited the same passage of Pliny differently, he would obligingly harmonize them; and as we confronted him with scores of such inexactitudes he might — no doubt expressing himself less politely — give us the opinion of Thomas: "Il faut donc écarter d'abord l'idée... que Servius puisse servir à corriger le texte des auteurs. Ses citations ne sont que des témoignages qui ont besoin d'être confirmés."²⁹ He would question the purpose to which we were putting him. As for our concern over his habit of presenting half-truths, rumours, and even fables as definitive knowledge by suppressing his source of information, he would sarcastically ask if we expected

²⁶ Émile Thomas, *Essai sur Servius et son commentaire sur Virgile* (Paris 1880) 182.

²⁷ Henry T. Rowell, "Aelius Donatus and the D Scholia on the *Bellum Punicum* of Naevius," *YCS* 15 (1957) 113-119; also "The Scholium on Naevius in *Parisinus Latinus* 7930," *AJP* 78 (1957) 1-22.

²⁸ Robert B. Lloyd, "Republican Authors in Servius and the Scholia Danielis," *HSCP* 65 (1961) 291-341.

²⁹ Thomas (above, n. 26) 193.

him to document every single fact. He would ridicule us if we were to fault him for stating on his own authority at *Aen.* 8.176 what we later found was lifted from Book 18 of the *Exegetics* of Cornelius Balbus. "If you wish this degree of exactitude and this kind of needless detail," he would say, "you must go to Donatus."

While that commentary still survived, there was no danger that Servius' cavalier treatment of his sources would deceive. But now that Donatus has perished, we run the risk of being misled by Servius wherever we must rely on him alone. No teacher who habitually censors and even doctors the information he purveys can be set up as a tribunal to whom a final appeal can be made. We cannot take his words at face value. When Servius in referring to the removal by Tucca and Varius of the Helen lines employs the word *constat*, we cannot be sure that it possesses any significant meaning at all. He says, for example, of the child of the fourth *Eclogue* (according to him the son of Asinius Pollio) *quem constat natum risisse statim*. This sort of stuff is all very well at the kindergarten level, but it has no place in the world of scholarship. We might even extend the words of Thomas and claim that all Servius' statements "ont besoin d'être confirmés." Consider his references to Catullus.

(1) S *Georg.* 2.95. The opinion here ascribed to Catullus lacks confirmation in the extant poems. Servius seems to be reporting prose, and "*Catullus*" may be an error.

(2) S *Aen.* 4.409 (after a note on verbs like *ferueo* / *feruo* and after quotations from Virgil and Horace): . . . ut "cauo, cauis." hinc etiam Catullus "cauere" dixit.

Servius' source referred to 50.18f; 61.145 *cauē*, but he himself seems to think that the form *cauēre* occurs in the poet's works. It is a fair inference that he had no first-hand knowledge of them.

(3) S *Aen.* 5.591 a FRANGERET deciperet, falleret.
b est autem uersus Catulli.

The two parts of the scholium should be kept distinct. In the second, Servius (who, let it be known, refrains from comment at *Aen.* 6.460) implies that Virgil copied the whole verse from Catullus. Virgil's indebtedness, however, falls somewhat short of being total.

Virg. *Aen.* 5.591 frangeret indepre^hensus et irremeabilis error.
Cat. 64.115 tecti frustraretur inobseruabilis error.

Acceptance of Servius' words would have led to considerable misunderstanding. Servius enormously overstates the closeness of Virgil

and Theocritus at *Buc.* 7.1: *ecloga haec paene tota Theocriti est*; and the closeness of Virgil and Apollonius at *Aen.* 4.1: *Apollonius Argonautica scripsit et in tertio inducit amantem Medeam: inde totus hic liber translatus est*. Similar wild exaggeration doubtless colours the scholium at *Buc.* 10.46: *hi autem omnes uersus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*.

Mention of Gallus makes this a suitable place for a brief digression on yet another error in Servius, highly relevant to our study as showing both the gross and careless misunderstanding of which Servius is capable and the astounding credulity which scholars have accorded to his uncorroborated statements.

We may suppose that some ancient, like some modern, commentators wondered whether the Aristaeus section of *Georg.* 4 did not fill a disproportionate space and perform an alien function in that work, and speculated that the poet's didactic treatment up to that point encouraged one to expect a different conclusion; some commentators — in unrelated criticism — hinted at the impropriety of the praise of Gallus in the tenth *Eclogue*, murmuring that in consequence of that man's disgrace the poet would have done better to excise the final portion of the *Eclogues* and substitute something else.

Whether Servius or another, someone misread *in postrema Bucolicorum parte* as *in postrema Georgicorum parte*, and connected the two criticisms. In an endeavour to reconcile the irreconcilable he has come up with what we read at *S Buc.* 10.1:

Gallus . . . primo in amicitii Augusti Caesaris fuit: postea cum uenisset in suspicionem, quod contra eum coniuraret, occisus est. fuit autem amicus Vergilii adeo, ut quartus Georgicorum a medio usque ad finem eius laudes teneret: quas postea iubente Augusto in Aristaei fabulam commutauit.

The story is moonshine from start to finish and was satisfactorily shown to be impossible historically and untenable in view of the internal evidence by Anderson, who by way of supporting his contention that *Buc.* 10 rather than *Georg.* 4 contained the *laudes Galli* referred to Ammianus (17.4.5): . . . *Gallus poeta, quem flens quodam modo in postrema Bucolicorum parte Vergilius carmine leni decantat*.³⁰ But for all that the pages of scholarship, including *RE* and the latest edition of the *Georgics*, are littered with quixotic attempts to save Servius' credit.

(4) *S Aen.* 5.610 . . . notandum sane etiam de Iride arcum genere

³⁰ W. B. Anderson, "Gallus and the Fourth *Georgic*," *CQ* 27 (1933) 36-45; also *addendum*, *ibid.* 73.

masculino dicere Vergilium: Catullus et alii genere feminino ponunt, referentes ad originem, sicut "haec Attis" et "haec gallus" legimus.

One would imagine that Catullus had used *arcus* "rainbow" as a feminine noun. But Servius has with culpable inattention abridged his source. Under *alii* must come Ennius, who did treat *arcus* as feminine (*Ann.* 409 = Priscian, *GL* 2.259ff), whilst only *haec Attis* justifies mention of Catullus (cf. *Cat.* 63.27, etc.). Even *haec gallus* is incorrect of Catullus, who employs the feminine form *galla* (63.12, 34).

(5) *S Aen.* 7.378 TVRBO Catullus hoc turben dicit, ut hoc carmen.

Not in our texts of Catullus. At 64.107, the only occurrence of the nominative, the word is *turbo* and is masculine. Most likely Servius has confused Catullus and Tibullus, who at 1.5.3 did write (so Charisius, *GL* 1.145.8) *turben*. Still, even this does not quite fit: Tibullus, like everyone else, regards the word as masculine. Servius has gratuitously, and erroneously, superimposed mention of gender upon the mere specification of stem-formation: *Turbo*, *Turbonis*, *si proprium hominis nomen* (Charisius, *GL* 1.144.30); *turbo*, *turbinis*, *ut uirgo, uirginis* (cf. Probus, *GL* 4.210.35); *turben*, *turbinis*, *ut carmen, carminis*.

(6) *S Aen.* 12.587 . . . "in pumice" autem iste masculino genere posuit, et hunc sequimur, licet Catullus dixerit feminino.

The relevant verse is *Cat.* 1.2 *arido modo pumice expolitum*. The archetype of Catullus attests the masculine, as do the manuscripts of the ancient writers who quote the verse: Isidore, Marius Victorinus, Caesius Bassus, and Terentianus. The Verona Scholia (*Buc.* 6.1) also quote the verse, and also with *arido*. How after our acquaintance with Servius can we approve of altering the text to *arida* (Teubner and Oxford texts) against all the evidence? "There is no reason to distrust Servius," says Fordyce innocently.

Actually, there is. No grammarian lends his authority to the statement that *pumex* was ever feminine. It is true that Caper in his short tract on words liable to error gives (*GL* 7.111.3): *PVMEX HIC recte* (that is, the masculine is correct), but this need not imply that the use of the word as a feminine enjoyed any literary warrant. Indeed, Probus rather suggests the opposite (*GL* 4.209.16): *PVMEX masculini generis est, ut Vergilius (Aen. 5.214) "latebroso in pumice uidi." SILEX CORTEX masculino genere dicuntur; apud antiquos feminina erant, ut (Verg. Aen. 8.233) "stabat acuta silex."*

Possibly Servius (or his source) has carelessly given the wrong entry from some lexicon he consulted. Possibly he looked up *pumex* but

copied out part of the entry for the preceding word *puluis* by mistake. We may imagine the following:

PVLVIS masculini generis est, licet Propertius dixerit "qui nunc iacet horrida puluis." masculini item CINIS, licet Catullus dixerit feminino, ut "acerba cinis."

PVMEX masculini generis est, ut Vergilius . . .

See Charisius, *GL* 1.89.22 and 1.101.10. If there is anything to this speculation, we cannot impute this kind of error to Servius' scribes. A very similar one occurs at *S Buc.* 9.35: *Varius poeta fuit: de hoc Horatius "Varius ducit molle atque facetum."* Obviously, the quotation (*Serm.* 1.10.44f) should read: "*forte epos acer, / ut nemo, Varius ducit.*" The words which follow in Horace, *molle atque facetum*, refer to Virgil. Someone has written down the wrong portion of the reference; but that someone can hardly have been a scribe copying out *forte . . . ducit*.

Thus we see that in referring to the text of Catullus, where, as in the case of the Helen Episode, Servius is dealing with information he has received at second hand, he is in error practically the whole time.

Bearing in mind Servius' flagrant inaccuracies in reporting the words of others, let us turn to an overlooked portion of his scholium on the disputed passage.

S Aen. 2.592d hinc autem uersus fuisse sublato Veneris uerba declarant dicentis (601): "non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae."

"That verses were removed from this place is proved by Venus' words in 601." Is this not a strange remark under the circumstances? Servius has just sold us, neatly tagged with instructions for their proper insertion, a full packet of verses duly branded with the validating label *Tucca et Varius sustulerunt*. Why this sudden offer of a proof that such verses really existed? Has our vendor reason to believe that once they did not? Already we have seen that this kind of label is peculiar to Servius. If we strip it off, we shall find something like this beneath: *hinc autem aliquid deesse Veneris uerba declarant*, "Venus' words show that there is a lacuna here." Servius' scholium contains an inference from verse 601 about the nature of the manuscript tradition at 566f (that is, 566 followed immediately by 589). It makes sense only if an original statement of a lacuna has been converted into a certification of what has repaired that lacuna. Furthermore, that original statement argued that the lacuna contained a mention of Helen. Consequently we may not argue that the conception of the Helen Episode lay beyond the power of an interpolator. When Virgil makes Venus ask "Will

you not rather see where you have left Anchises?" using the verb *aspicio*, and makes her turn Aeneas' anger from the hated (*inuisa*) beauty of Helen (*Tyndaris*), he is leaving the way open for a would-be interpolator to manufacture *Tyndarida aspicio* and bring *inuisa* into the context.

Summing up our inquiry so far, we are driven to even further doubts about the credibility of the witness Servius by his admission — in fact, we have to remark on his reluctance to answer counsel's questions — that, although he first jauntily said that everyone accepted as genuine the missing jewels in his possession, he knew all the time that other investigators had written them off as lost and even insinuated that they may never have been cut.

9. THE TEXT OF THE HELEN EPISODE

In establishing the text of Servius — for by this tradition the Helen Episode has descended to us — we must be careful to cite not only the manuscripts of Servius but also those of Servius Auctus. This naturally follows from a recognition that Servius Auctus is made up of Servius and additions and modifications. Except where the Servian text has been affected by the activities of the Compiler, we have in Servius Auctus a most valuable check on the ordinary Servian tradition. Table 1 will make this plain.

The reader should note that the relationships of the pure Servian manuscripts (S) are exceedingly complicated. Fortunately, we are able, thanks to Murgia's skilful analysis, to sort out the ramifications into the two main traditions, which he calls Δ and Γ respectively.³¹ Very briefly, Δ is the better tradition, but is missing for considerable portions of Servius. The manuscript A, for example, generally bears witness to Δ , but where Δ has perished goes over to the Γ text. We may dispense with further detail here,³² since the Helen Episode

³¹ Charles E. Murgia, "Critical Notes on the Text of Servius' Commentary on *Aeneid* III-V," *HSCP* 72 (1968) 31 ff.

³² A crucial issue, left unresolved in the accompanying stemma, concerns the relationships of DS, Γ , and Δ . Do DS and Γ share a hyparchetype, as Murgia is inclined to think, or did the Compiler's Servius descend from a source independent of the source of Γ and Δ ? Because of the large amount of horizontal transmission and editorial activity in the tradition it is not easy to decide between these alternatives. That DS and Δ are connected (to the exclusion of Γ) may, however, be regarded as out of the question.

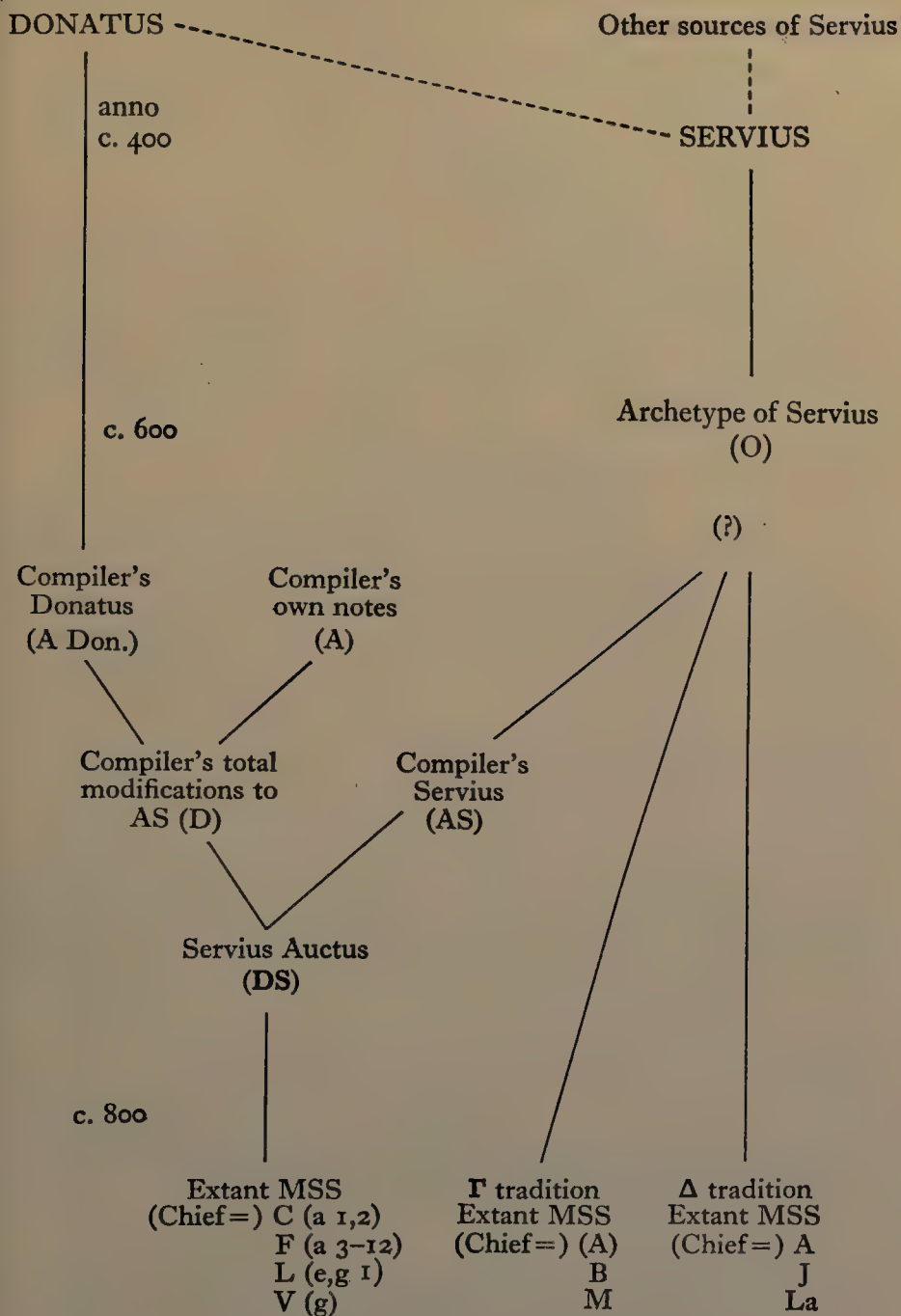


Table 1. The Tradition of Servius and Servius Auctus

occurs in a section not attested by the Δ tradition, and all extant manuscripts represent Γ .

From a textual point of view, the readings of DS and S are remarkably close, and the archetype must lie not far behind the extant sources. In orthography DS generally inspires more confidence than S:

DS/S *Buc.* 9.1d zeugma DS: zeuma S

DS/S *Buc.* 9.11b miloniana DS: meloniana S

Shared errors are surprisingly few:

DS/S *Buc.* 5.1a laudant se *Seru. R ex coniect.*: laudantes DS: laudant S

DS/S *Aen.* 1.499 cardo dictus <ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας> quasi cor ianuae, quo mouetur.

graeca om. O, suppl. Fraenkel ex Isid. Orig. 15.7.7

Once or twice DS permits the filling of a lacuna in S.

DS/S *Buc.* 6.35a . . . canebat etiam quemadmodum <se durare coeperit solum et mixtam sibi ante aquam sua contractione discludere . . .

36 ET RERVUM PAVLATIM SVMERE FORMAS
canebat etiam quemadmodum> terra rerum sumpserit formam.

se . . . quemadmodum DS : om. S *per parablepsin*

Of course DS is not without corruptions of its own:

DS/S *Buc.* 9.7a SVBDVCERE C(OLLES) / I(NCIPIVNT) . . .

C.I. S : cicero DS (*male ci pro abbreviatiōne interpretatus*)

The closeness of DS and S in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* has led to the decision to plan a single apparatus for *Ed. Harv.* I; the manuscript tradition is much simpler in these works than it is in the *Aeneid*, where the number of manuscripts testifying to the DS text sometimes varies from scholium to scholium.

The text of the Helen Episode, then, whilst not as solidly attested as the canonical text of Virgil, can thus be taken back to an archetype of a date hardly later than the seventh century and quite possibly earlier. The following discussion will make clear that doubt as to the original reading is confined to but two or three places.

- 567 iamque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
seruantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida aspicio; dant clara incendia lucem
570 erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.

illa sibi infestos euersa ob Pergama Teucros
et *Danaum poenam* et deserti coniugis iras
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis erinys,
abdiderat sese atque aris inuisa sedebat.

Danaum poenam S: *Danaum poenas* DS: *poenas Danaum* ed. Mant., edd.

Murgia, who is to be followed here, contends that *poenas* of DS is an error, possibly a mere slip induced by *iras* at the end of the verse, possibly a deliberate alteration of the unusual singular (in a particularizing sense). Emendation seems unjustified, since it is difficult to imagine how the vulgate *poenas Danaum* ever became transposed to the unmetrical *Danaum poenas*. Furthermore, there are strong indications that the author of this passage varied his inflections, *poenam* being varied in *poenas* (576) and *iras* in *ira* (575).

575 exarsere *ignes* animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.

ignes DS (= O): *ignis* (-i B) S

Study of the finer points of classical Latin orthography encounters a formidable obstacle in the wholesale introduction of standardized spellings into Latin manuscripts at a period (eighth century and earlier) antedating that to which we owe our oldest texts of most classical authors. A scribe, armed with the knowledge that third-declension *i*-stems once made accusative plurals in *-is*, would without a moment's thought alter into *-is* any accusative plural in *-es* which happened to catch his attention. Sometimes, as here, he gives himself away by picking on a nominative. B (a manuscript not far removed from the archetype) seems here, as at 585 below, to have been copied from an exemplar which gave *ignes* with *i* written above the ending (the interpolator intending *-is*), and the copyist falsely inferred that *igni* was the corrected reading.

577 "scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho,
coniugiumque domumque, *patres* natosque uidebit,
580 Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?

patres O: *patris* Menag. alt.

"Is she to see husband and home, parents and children?" Austin adopts the conjecture ("father's house")—though all his alleged parallels give *domus* without epithet and so support the tradition—

because literary Latin furnishes no warrant for *patres* in the sense of "parents."³³ But the hymenaeal rhythm seems perfectly in order, and the collocation *A et B, C et D* is certainly unobjectionable: *Aen.* 8.679 *cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis.*

- 583 non ita: namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est *nec habet* uictoria laudem,
585 extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse *merentes*
laudabor poenas, . . .

nec habet Seru. V: habet haec O merentes DS, Seru. AQVN (= DS interpol.): merentis (-i B) Seru. HPTZBEM (= S)

To dispose of the simpler problem first: the transmission of *merentes* exactly parallels that of *ignes* in 575; the word is clearly accusative plural.

Austin's painful attempts to defend *habet haec* (which have naturally led him to despair over *tamen*) should by now have dispelled any doubt as to the correct reading of 584;³⁴ and perhaps the traditional text and interpretation would have remained unshaken, had not Fraenkel branded *nec habet* as an interpolation. It is that. But, in a sense, so is every true conjecture. The words *nec habet* became by the slightest of changes *hec habet*, of which *habet haec* is a further corruption, representing a metrical adjustment. Watt, supporting Austin, explains the palaeography back to front;³⁵ but in the sequence *habet hec uictoria* a corruption to *nec* would be extremely unlikely. "For though there is no lasting renown in taking vengeance on a woman, and the triumph wins no praise, I shall even so be praised for having destroyed the evil and having exacted the due penalty." The meaning is crystal clear, even if the Latinity falls short of correctness.

- 586 . . . animumque explesse iuuabit
†ultrici*s* famam et cineres satiasse meorum."
tal*ia* iactabam et furiata mente ferebar . . .

famam S: famae DS: flammae Seru. N ferebar S: loquebatur DS (explained above, p. 132)

"... and I shall rejoice to have fulfilled my desires and ... to have satisfied the shades of my people."

Verse 587 presents undeniable difficulties. Critics have embarked on a hopeless course in explaining *ultrici*s* famae* or *flammae* as a genitive

³³ Austin (above, n. 25) 191.

³⁴ Austin, *ibid.*; also ed. *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford 1964) 226.

³⁵ W. S. Watt in Austin's ed. (above, n. 34) 292.

after the verb *explesse*. Since the composer could have written *ultrici fama* (or *flamma*), the regular construction, without affecting the metre, it is virtually certain that he intended something else. To Austin must be conceded that the sense is complete at *iuuabit*.³⁶ But in that case *et* may be corrupt, since the author of this passage does not elsewhere postpone the conjunction; and corrupt the preceding word *famam* certainly is (*famae* and *flammae* seem like attempts at correction). If it be granted that a ligatured *-que* (*q̄e*) might be misread as *sf* and *nu* misread as *m*, then some probability would accrue to Friedrich Schoell's *ultricique manu*, for the step from *ultricisfmam* to the Servian reading is slight and predictable.

10. INTERNAL ANALYSIS

The verses contain much which echoes the language of Virgil. But then, this is precisely what an imitator of Virgil would strive to attain. Moreover, these echoes are not evenly and randomly spread over the poet's work, but cluster in a rather suspicious fashion about well-known parts of the *Aeneid*, as though these had provided conscious inspiration. Consider the following:

(1) *Aen.* 2

321 limina	331 Mycenis
324 -abile	337 erinyes
325 Dardaniae	344 Phrygibus
327 incensa	345 furentis

(2) *Aen.* 2

407 furiata mente	425 ad aram
413 -tu atque ereptae	431 cineres . . . meorum
uirginis ira	434 meruisse

(3) *Aen.* 2

501 per aras	514 arae . . .
502 sanguine . . . ignes	517 . . . sedebant

(4) *Aen.* 4

91 furori	96 adeo
93 laudem	101 ardet
94 memorabile numen	102 communem
95 femina uicta	103 Phrygio

(5) *Aen.* 4

363 oculos . . . pererrat	376 furiis incensa feror
364 accensa	379 scilicet

³⁶ Austin (above, n. 25) 193.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (6) <i>Aen.</i> 4 | |
| 605 implessem | 626 Dardanios |
| 606 extinxem . . . dedisse | 656 ulta . . . poenas inimico |
| 610 ultrices | 658 Dardaniae |
| 623 cineres | 660 iuuat |
| 625 ultor | 667 femineo |
| (7) <i>Aen.</i> 5 | |
| 785 Phrygum exedissem nefandis | 788 furoris |
| 786 poenam traxe | 864 iamque adeo . . . |
| 787 cineres | 867 . . . cum . . . errare |
| (8) <i>Aen.</i> 6 | |
| 555 sedens | 563 sceleratum limen |
| 556 uestibulum . . . seruat | 565 poenas |
| 560 scelerum facies | 570 ultrix |
| 561 poenis | 575 facies quae limina seruat |
| (9) <i>Aen.</i> 11 | |
| 258 scelerum poenas | 269 patriis . . . aris |
| 260 ultorque | 270 coniugium . . . uiderem |
| 264 uersosque penatis | 275 haec adeo . . . cum |
| 267 coniugis infandae | 289 uictoria |
| (10) <i>Aen.</i> 12 | |
| 939 uoluens oculos | 946 furiis accensus et ira |
| 940 iamque . . . cum . . . | 949 poenam scelerato . . . sumit |

Collectively these passages, none of which contains the difficulties of Latinity which characterize the Helen Episode, suggest a deliberate and careful imitation of Virgilian vocabulary. Could this suggestion be hardened into proof, non-Virgilian authorship would necessarily be proved also.

Now consider the word *praemetuens* in 592. The rareness of the verb ("to pre-fear" is logically tautologous, all fear being an anticipation) has caused some to doubt whether Virgil would have employed it, a doubt which has drawn from defenders of Virgilian authorship the rejoinder that the word occurs in Lucretius and thus no basis for scepticism exists. Ah, but let it be observed that the Lucretian passage is one of that poet's best-known and provides just such another cluster. Virgil, when borrowing striking words from his predecessors, does not so echo the whole context.³⁷

³⁷ This is difficult to prove positively but seems to follow from the parallels amassed by Macrobius in the sixth book of the *Saturnalia*: these show Virgil to have been a discriminating borrower.

(11) *Lucr.* 3 (the underworld a fable)

1004 *explere . . . satiare*

1011 *Furiae*

1014 *poenarum*

1015 *sceleris*

1019 *praemetuens*

1028 *occiderunt*

Turn to the matter of metre. Norden condemned the passage for the excessive occurrence of certain types of elision.³⁸ Now, although Austin has no difficulty in showing that they can all be paralleled in Virgil, we may wonder whether Norden's point has met with a satisfactory explanation. The elisions at the caesura (e.g., *et Danaum poen[am] et*) almost seem to labour this aspect of Virgil's technique, as though the writer were more at home in the smoother hexameters of Ovid or Lucan. Certainly, if an imitator of Virgil manufactured these verses, it would seem to follow that in respect of metre he made a great effort to reproduce his model's style.

That the whole passage has indeed been carefully composed emerges from an inspection of its structure. In this regard a simple tabulation is worth several paragraphs of exegesis, and table 2 overleaf gives in self-explanatory fashion the analysis embodied in the more detailed "*tabula ad explicandam loci compositionem effecta*" appended to Gerloff's dissertation.³⁹ Although analyzing the passage as two parts balanced in Golden Mean ratio, Gerloff himself did not notice the proportion, unaware of the significance that would later be attached to it.

II. THE GOLDEN SECTION IN THE *AENEID*

What now of Duckworth's claim that Virgil constructed the *Aeneid* out of passages balanced in Golden Mean ratio?⁴⁰ Will not the existence of this ratio in the Helen Episode confirm Virgilian authorship? Not confirm. That word we must deny. Cannot an imitator have known this device of the poet's composition? Duckworth must needs assent to this, for according to him Ennius, Lucretius, Catullus, Horace, and the authors of the *Appendix* were all not only familiar with Golden Mean ratio but employed it themselves. Getty adds Lucan. Well then, if many knew, many could have imitated this feature. Nevertheless, evidence

³⁸ Eduard Norden, ed. *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*⁴ (repr. Darmstadt 1957) 454.

³⁹ Iohannes Gerloff, *Vindiciae Vergilianae: Quaestiones criticae de Aeneidis Libri II 567-588* (diss. Jena 1911).

⁴⁰ George E. Duckworth, "Mathematical Symmetry in Vergil's *Aeneid*," *TAPA* 91 (1960) 184-220; *Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1962).

A	Aeneas	567		
		568	(b1) seruantem	(b2) latentem
SCENE:		569		
		570	(a1) erranti	(a2) ferenti
B	Helen	571		
		572	<i>poenam . . . iras</i> (links with 575f)	
		573		
		574	(b2) abdiderat	(b1) sedebat
<hr/>				
Golden Section				
X	Anger	575	(x1) ignes animo	(x2) <i>ira</i>
Y	Desire	576	(y1) ulcisci	(y2) <i>sumere poenas</i>
Z	Question	577		
	Greek	578	(1) aspiciet	(2) ibit
ACTION:		579	(3) uidebit	
		580		
	Trojan	581	(1) occiderit	(2) arserit
		582	(3) sudabit	
Z	Answer	583		
		584		
Y	Desire	585	(y2a) extinxisse	(y2b) <i>sumpsisse poenas</i>
		586		
		587	(y1a) ultricis	(y1b) <i>satiasse</i>
<hr/>				
X	Anger	588	(x2) iactabam	(x1) <i>furiata mente</i>

Table 2. Structure of the Helen Episode (after Gerloff)

for the theory outside Virgil is distressingly scanty. Rather we assume, on general grounds of probability, that Virgil's practice would have been known to his literary friends and through them to others. True or false, the theory of the Golden Section in the *Aeneid* constitutes no decisive criterion for the authenticity of the Helen Episode.

Tempting to leave the matter there and evade the question. Let us therefore assent that Virgil did consciously and deliberately employ Golden Mean ratios. Too many paragraph limits from which Duckworth derives his numerical data were established before the announcement of the theory to permit us to dismiss it as a mirage. If the evidence suggests that the divine Mantuan composed with a stilus in one hand and an abacus in the other, we should brave Dalzell's ridicule and follow the evidence.⁴¹ But this is an extravagant inference, for the most

⁴¹ A. Dalzell, review of Duckworth's *Structural Patterns* (above, n. 40) in *Phoenix* 17 (1963) 314-316.

convincing ratios are all connected with the Fibonacci series (1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55 . . .), which could thus have been used as the basis of calculation. To take two simple examples (the *Duckworthverzeichnis* being given in parentheses):

(D 2)	<i>Aen.</i>	1.34-75	42 (21 × 2)
		76-101	26 (13 × 2)
(D 113)	<i>Aen.</i>	4.672-692	21
		693-705	13

Relax the qualification for editorial paragraphing, and more passages of Fibonacci lengths appear, for instance:

(D 255)	<i>Aen.</i>	9.638-658	21
		659-671	13
(D 351)	<i>Aen.</i>	12.919-939	21
		940-952	13

Relax the requirement for exact Fibonacci numbers, but reinstate the strict condition of prior editorial paragraphing, and we meet with such a sequence as the following:

(D 327)	<i>Aen.</i>	12.238-256	19 (21 - 2)
		257-288	32 (34 - 2)
(D 330)		289-323	35 (34 + 1)
		324-345	22 (21 + 1)
(D 331)		346-382	37 (34 + 3)
		383-440	58 (55 + 3)

Virgil's modification of the series warns us to be prepared for some flexibility on his part: he is not rigidly tied to a particular set of numbers. Here the mathematical pattern is still clear enough, but it is obvious that he is on the point of moving away from ratios which permit us, given one component, to predict the other. Once the poet takes this step, we cannot be quite sure of detecting his ratios, assuming they exist, and — what is worse — we run the risk of deluding ourselves with ones that he never intended.

If the passages making up the *Aeneid* gave only ratios conforming to the principles which determined the previous examples, we should be compelled to regard the Golden Mean as an integral formal element, not equalling the precision of metre, but still sufficiently capable of identification to be used as a critical tool. This, unfortunately for those who would like it so, is far from being the case. Ratios arrived at by a selection of component parts ($a + c / b$; or $a + c / b + d$; or $a + c + e / b + d$), unsupported by impartial editorial analysis, necessarily carry

less and less weight in proportion to their intricacy, for the simple reason that it becomes more and more easy to rig the results. This is a charge Duckworth invites upon himself at *Aen.* 12.505-547, where the ratio (D 932) has been secured by throwing out the simile (521-528) and cutting the rest up into six ($a + c + e / b + d + f$). The larger the numbers involved, the more likely it is that a break will occur within the area assumed to give a significant ratio (.600-.636). Verses 105-107 are omitted from Duckworth's continuous analysis of *Aen.* 2 (D 29-D 60), but are duly worked into the large calculations (cf. D 367). Whilst all books are represented as completely made up of Golden Mean ratios, the total lines of some books (1, 3, 9, 11, 12) defy division by the Golden Section, a phenomenon which casts some doubt on the reality of the other total ratios.

The sectioning of a passage of eight (and a fortiori fewer) lines carries little weight. Even bridge players not in the Goren class know that, when eight cards of a suit are held by the two unseen hands, the odds favour a 5-3 as against a 4-4 or a 6-2 split. How can we be sure that *Aen.* 4.1-8 is designed as a unit composed of 1-5 and 6-8 (D 1009)? The break at 8 is much less obvious than the break after 5; and the analysis of 9-29 (D 1011) as a $b + c / a + d$ proportion looks contrived.

The half-lines in Virgil bring the argument on to firmer ground. About three quarters of them, asserts Duckworth, were intentional, giving a closer approximation to the Golden Section than whole lines would have done. With this assertion he reveals how far beyond the possible he has pushed his theory. That Virgil meant to complete his half-lines may be settled without reference to mathematics.

Stichic verse, and hexameter verse in particular, provides a rhythmical continuum serving as a base to the reciter or listener in much the same way as a road serves a motorist or as the pages of a book serve a reader; and a half-line causes much the same breakdown as a ten-foot gap in a road or the physical loss of half a page. We are not to suppose that the metrical breakdown after a half-line renders a pause or a caesura more effective in any way. Just as a car may come to a halt without the road being blown up; just as a typographer may leave half a page blank without tearing it out: so the poet may contrive an arresting pause — an interminable pause, even — without interrupting the rhythmical continuum. It happens frequently in drama, for example, as when one character takes over from another in the middle of a verse. *Aen.* 2.13 provides a good instance of an effective pause: "magnificent," raves Austin in his commentary. And one can readily think of many another, where a reciter attuning his utterance to the demands of the context

is forced to a halt. How else except by coming to a complete stop after the caesura can one recite *Aen.* 6.883 (*tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis*)?

Secondly, the context of the half-lines provides evidence that the poet had not quite finished the process of composition. Virgil's 58 half-lines fall, for the most part, into three separate groups, which let us designate by the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*.

1.534 c	2.720 a	4.44 b	5.792 b	8.41 b	10.284 a
1.560 c	2.767 c	4.361 a	5.815 a	8.469 a	10.490 a
1.636 c	2.787 b	4.400 c	6.94 b	8.536 b	10.580 a
2.66 b	3.218	4.503 c	6.835 b	9.167 c	10.728
2.233 c	3.316 b	4.516 c	7.129 b	9.295 a	10.876 a
2.346 b	3.340 b	5.294 c	7.248 a	9.467	11.375 a
2.468	3.470 c	5.322 c	7.439 c	9.520 c	11.391 b
2.614 c	3.527 a	5.574 c	7.455 a	9.721 c	12.631 a
2.623 c	3.640 b	5.595 c	7.702 c	9.761 c	
2.640 b	3.661	5.653 a	7.760 c	10.17 a	

The first group (*a*) shows the poet at pains to avoid Homeric formulae in introducing, beginning, ending, or proceeding from direct speech: at 4.361, for example, *Italiam non sponte sequor*, he has achieved a splendid ending to the speech, and obviously no more was to be added; but it remains for him to adjust the beginning of 362 (probably composed earlier), so that he may proceed directly from the word *sequor* (for the sake of illustration let us suggest that he might have filled up the line with *dum talia dicit*).

In the second group (*b*) the poet has achieved in the middle of a verse a satisfactory beginning or ending to an emotional passage consisting usually of a question, imperative, or exclamation; and sooner than part with the half-line he has created, prefers to wait for further inspiration. Thus at 6.835, *proice tela manu, sanguis meus*, Virgil is anxious to end the appeal at the bucolic caesura, the double-short cadence intensifying its poignancy; but this means that he must continue with *ille . . .* and recast the following verse or verses.

The third group (*c*) consists of half-lines from passages plainly unfinished (this evaluation is given for most by Sparrow).⁴² Here, if anywhere, we encounter *tibicines*, stopgap phrases destined for expansion, for example:

Aen. 1.559 talibus Ilioneus; cuncti simul ore fremebant
Dardanidae.

⁴² John Sparrow, *Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford 1931) 30ff.

In several instances it looks as if Virgil may have intended to eliminate (not complete) the half-line. For example:

Aen. 2 (half-line 720)

(D 57)	699-706	8
	707-720	13.2
(D 58)	707-711	5
	712-720	8.2

The text is as follows:

719	... attrectare nefas, donec me flumine uiuo
720	abluero."
721	haec fatus latos umeros subiectaque colla ...

It would be easy to write *abluero."* *sic fatus eram, subiectaque colla ...*, eliminating the half-line and preserving the Fibonacci numbers, though we can hardly claim that Virgil must have done so.

It is true that on rare occasions he places a Golden Section within the line. If we may speak of Virgil arranging his poem in paragraphs, we have in *Aen.* 2.13 proof that he was capable of beginning a paragraph in the middle of a verse. The ratio involved (D 30) seems perfectly acceptable as a significant one, the poet modifying slightly the Fibonacci integers, not with any idea of going into decimal or fractional calculations, but solely because he wishes to secure an arresting pause after *incipiam* (similarly at 7.45).

(D 30)	<i>Aen.</i> 2.	1-13a	13-
		13b-20	8-

We are therefore not entitled to draw from significant ratios involving half-lines the inference that Virgil was prepared to leave half-lines uncompleted. The natural expectation that he would either have expanded the sentence or contracted it (or even have entirely reworked the passage) stands unaffected.

Nevertheless, even after we have subtracted as illusory or undesigned several hundreds of Duckworth's ratios, enough remain to enforce the general proposition that here and there in the *Aeneid* Virgil consciously contrived ratios approximating to the Golden Section. But beyond this simple assertion we cannot safely proceed. The eye can appreciate the Golden Section in space; the ear cannot in time. This naturally follows from those principles which Lessing expounds in his famous treatise *Laokoon* by way of defining the different spheres of the plastic arts and poetry. In Virgil we are to regard mathematical ratios as an idiosyncratic and certainly flexible means of ensuring an artistic asymmetry

and of diversifying the lengths of component passages without losing control of measurement. Alas! The very nature of such a purpose should be enough to warn us that to try to specify definitively Virgil's calculations is an enterprise fraught with hazard, if not doomed to failure.

12. LATIN STYLE IN THE HELEN EPISODE

From the preceding discussions we have gained an important clue. The Helen Episode is a finished product. Whoever composed it meant it to stand as it is. It is a fair copy, as good as its maker could achieve. If Virgil's, there can be no question of its being "ringed or only marginally inserted in the autograph" (Mackail)⁴³ or otherwise marked out for deletion in the event of posthumous publication. But were it Virgil's, we should expect it to betray Virgil's Latin style; and it does not. Hitherto, defenders of Virgilian authorship have pleaded in mitigation that the verses are "too obviously unrevised" (Mackail), are only temporary props (Büchner), are "a collection of drafts forming a series of approaches to ideas that were never worked up" (Austin).⁴⁴ These pleas are false: we have now seen that the verses form a finished whole.

The non-Virgilian Latinity of the Helen Episode has with commendable discrimination already been listed by Austin, who, as the chief champion of authenticity, gallantly exonerates us from a possible accusation of prejudice. His article contains this indictment:

There are, however, other problems, notably the repetitive vocabulary and expression: *aspicio* (569), *aspiciet* (578, used differently); *poenas Danaum* (572), *sceleratas sumere poenas* (576), *feminea in poena* (584), *sumpsisse merentis . . . poenas* (585-6); *deserti coniugis iras* (572), *subit ira* (575), *furiata mente* (588); *exarsere ignes animo* (575), *Troia arserit igni* (581, differently); *ulcisci* (576), *ultrici* (587); *patriae* (573, of Greece), *patriam* (576, of Troy), *patrias Mycenae* (577); *laudem* (584), *laudabor* (586), *famam* (?) (587), with *nomen* (583). There are contradictions: Aeneas sees Helen *limina Vestae servan*tem (576), in 574 Helen *aris invisae sedebat*; in 572 she is afraid of Menelaus, in 579 she is imagined in happy reunion with him. The last line (588) looks like a stopgap: *furiata mente* is rather obvious, and if the passage had been fully integrated with what follows, one would not have expected *talia iactabam et . . .* but *talia iactanti*, dependent on a following verb.⁴⁵

These nails in the coffin of Virgilian authorship he hammers firmly home in his commentary:

⁴³ J. W. Mackail, ed. *The Aeneid* (Oxford 1930) 77.

⁴⁴ Austin, ed. (above, n. 34) 218.

⁴⁵ Austin (above, n. 25) 194.

- 569 **aspicio**: 'I catch sight of' . . . no other clear example in the *Aeneid*.
- 575 **exarsere ignes**: Virgil does not use *ignis* elsewhere of anger, and *exardescere* is not found elsewhere in classical Latin with *ignis* as subject.
- 576 **sceleratas sumere poenas**: this very remarkable phrase has no parallel in any other author.
- 577 **patrias**: . . . here could obviously not have stood in a single, finished passage after *patriam* in 576.
- 581 **arserit igni**: this could scarcely have stood in a finished passage with *exarsere ignes* (575).
- 585 **nefas**: . . . no Virgilian parallel.
merentis: . . . if . . . accusative plural, it is an experiment like *sceleratas sumere poenas* (576), but even bolder, and plainly both phrases could not have stood in a finished version.
- 587 **satiasse**: . . . not used elsewhere by Virgil.
- 588 This looks like a stopgap.
furiata mente: . . . in this context it has all the look of a patch.

Austin's candid observations clearly disclose the non-Virgilian style of the passage. We have already seen that the Helen Episode cannot be regarded as a preliminary draft.

But grant that it could: did Virgil's versification in its early stages ever take such an imperfect shape? All the evidence points to the contrary. In the manuscript or manuscripts which Varius edited the poet had written down only elegant verse. This we may confidently affirm from those sections which end in half-lines, and from those passages, such as the Wanderings of Aeneas, which analysis shows were not fully assimilated to a final structure. When we speak of the imperfect state of the *Aeneid*, we mean unfinished, not inartistic. Little was left for an editor to do. Unlike the executors of Lucan, Varius was able to publish an epic essentially complete. No book is wanting; no book is unbearably defective. Nothing entitles us to imagine that Virgil composed in such a way that his verses needed polishing up. Completion of unfinished passages; addition to give finality to scene or action; and, above all, smooth connection of portions separately composed: these the poem lacks. But perfection of language the *Aeneid* already possesses, like every foot of verse that Virgil ever fashioned.

13. AENEAS ON THE PALACE ROOF

Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, though one of the most magnificent, is by no means among the most finished. Indeed, for this very reason Ribbeck

has questioned the text of Donatus (*Vit.* 32), which states that the poet recited Books 2, 4, and 6 to the imperial family, and plausibly proposed to emend the text (*i* for *ii*) to read Books 1, 4, and 6; and Murgia has now considerably strengthened this proposal with a persuasive discussion of Serv. *Aen.* 4.323.⁴⁶ However this may be, the Laocoon episode (40–56; 199–233) is undeniably an insertion not organically welded to the context, and the book contains a larger number of half-lines than any other. Moreover, the poet had not yet elaborated his conception of Aeneas on the palace roof.

Virgil faced a formidable difficulty in getting Aeneas to describe in satisfactory detail the fall of Troy without loss of plausibility and without detriment to his hero. This difficulty he overcame admirably by contriving that Aeneas should mount the palace roof whence he might witness the entire disaster. The passage is brilliant. The action moves rapidly and so thoroughly engages our emotions that we never stop to wonder why Aeneas is so helpless, so motionless, and so far from the foe. The horror of Priam's death arouses him to an awareness of his own father's plight, and he hastily descends from the roof and hurries home. This summary, however, omits (besides the Helen Episode) lines 589–623, and to Peerlkamp goes the credit of first having realized that these verses constitute a later addition. Never one for half measures, he scratched them out of the text. In 1878, however, was published Henry's superior suggestion (made independently, it would seem) that in his first draft Virgil passed at once from 567 to 624 and the ensuing lines but was subsequently moved by afterthoughts to expand the passage.⁴⁷ So, too, again independently, Körte, who in 1916 convincingly argued that the poet, uneasy over Aeneas' passive role, had begun though not completed an additional scene to furnish its motivation.⁴⁸ Virgil's unfinished addition is to be recognized in the Venus scene; and the Helen Episode is nothing else but an attempt to finish it.

We must iron out a slight discrepancy between Henry and Körte. The question concerns the verses 624–631, which probably belong to the first composition (Henry) rather than to the incomplete addition (Körte). The simile of the husbandmen felling a mountain ash, as Henry points out, does not quite suit the image of the *numina magna deum*; the juxtaposition of 625 *Neptunia Troia* with 610 *Neptunus*, by putting Neptune on both sides, emphasizes that awkwardness; and the

⁴⁶ Murgia (above, n. 31) 332–335.

⁴⁷ James Henry, *Aeneidea*, vol. 2 (Dublin 1878) 302.

⁴⁸ Alfred Körte, "Zum zweiten Buch von Vergils Aeneis," *Hermes* 51 (1916) 145–150.

half-line 623 is more explicable at the end of a passage than in the middle (we already have one at 614).

The argument, and further discussion of it, will be easier to follow from a tabulation; and table 3 schematizes this entire section of Book 2, half-lines being indicated by numbers and dots. Virgil's decision to insert an additional scene obligated him to much alteration, little of which has been accomplished. At 664-667 Aeneas refers to his mother's intervention on his behalf, that is, to the new scene: we may infer that the context of these verses harmonizes with the intended expansion. On the other hand, 632 *ducente deo* becomes something of a conundrum: most likely 632f were to be rewritten. Furthermore, Venus in 596ff provided a new motivation for Aeneas' return home: accordingly the old one in 560-564 was to be deleted. Virgil's intention is clear. After 558 Aeneas was to have embarked on a course of action from which he is restrained by the sudden intervention of his mother in 589.

A few clues point to Virgil's conception. In the first place, the poet still envisaged Aeneas on the palace roof. Aeneas must occupy a position of wide survey for his mother to show him the gods at their battle stations (604ff). Thus 570 *erranti*, which conceives of Aeneas at ground level, is alien to the scene in Virgil's imagination; and it is also difficult to understand how from the rooftops Aeneas could see anyone lurking in the penetralia of Vesta. In the second place, as Heinze and Körte stress, Venus bases her admonition to Aeneas to withdraw, not on the impropriety of his meditated action, but on its impossibility: the gods stand in the way. To Aeneas, as he appears in the Helen Episode, Venus' line of argument is irrelevant: he has conceded that Troy is fallen; his thoughts are bent on the spiteful killing of Helen, never mind what happens to himself; he rushes forward and in a moment would have accomplished the deed. Why tell him in this situation that the gods are destroying Troy? How could Venus expect to deter him from striking the blow by announcing a communiqué that Neptune was shaking the city walls, that Juno was holding the Scaean gates, and that Minerva had occupied the citadel on high? Venus' report constitutes an unanswerable case against any attempt to stem the Greek incursion: as a deterrent against murdering Helen it is a waste of breath. In the third place, Venus seems to criticize Aeneas' logic when she declares: "it is not the hated beauty of Helen that is destroying Troy, nor is it the reviled Paris." The words *facies inuisa* imply some allusion on Aeneas' part to Helen's beauty, and *culpatusue Paris* implies some revilement by Aeneas of Paris. The Helen Episode provides neither.

First Composition	Incomplete Addition	Helen Episode
(458-558) I mount the palace roof and behold (468) . . . the death of Priam. (559) Then I am grip- ped by horror. (560-563) I think of my father and family. (564-566) I look about me: all my companions have gone.		
		(567-588) <i>Now I see Helen hiding at the altar. "Is she to go free? No, I shall be happy to have taken vengeance on her." So was I saying—</i>
	(589-623) — when my mother appeared. "Why this fury?" said she. "Will you not succour your family? It is not Helen or Paris who is to blame for this disaster. The gods are respon- sible. I will draw the veil from your eyes and show you them: Nep- tune, Juno (614) . . . Minerva, Jupiter. Now hurry. I will protect you." She vanishes, and the dread deities come to view (623) . . .	
(624-631) Then all Ilium seemed to come crashing down. (632ff) I descend and, guided by a god, make my way to my father's house. (640) . . .		

Table 3. Aeneas on the Palace Roof

The case is clear: the Helen Episode does not represent Virgil's conception. The author, as was argued above, has been led by the mention of Helen to create and interpolate the passage preserved by Servius. His words *Tyndarida aspicio . . . inuisa* reveal the starting point of his composition. That this scene, though spurious, has by its vividness and dramatic power captured the imagination of readers throughout the centuries — indeed, has been preferred to what Virgil intended — it would be foolish to deny. But the schools from Tiberius to Nero, as one gathers from the writings of the Senecas and Petronius, often occupied themselves with tours de force and academic displays, and it would come as no surprise if it turned out that some gifted schoolman composed the Helen Episode, marked as it is by its theatrical *uariationes* and dramatic bloodthirstiness.

What Virgil intended we can only speculate. We cannot even be sure of the dimensions of the new scene he has partially inserted. That Aeneas' helplessness brought on a rage in which he ranted against Helen and Paris, and that, impassioned beyond endurance at the injustice of the suffering which the innocent must experience, he resolved to launch one last demonic attack upon the foe — this would satisfy the clues. In 655, a passage we have established as harmonized to the new scene, he says *rursus in arma feror mortemque miserrimus opto* and again at 668, *arma, uiri, ferte arma*. Brilliantly conceived and vigorously executed though the Helen Episode may be, dare one suggest that Virgil possessed the genius to produce something finer and more relevant?

Entbehren sollst Du, sollst entbehren. This is the lesson — it is the hardest of all — which Aeneas must learn before he can set his unhappy followers on the shores of their future greatness. Just as at the court of Dido he will have to relinquish personal happiness, so in the war at Troy he must decline his opportunity for heroic glory. Noble and brave, mighty as one heaven-born, he, like Augustus, must yield to the realization that the tempting laurels of the splendid warrior are not for him. Virgil does not mean that Aeneas is in any way prevented from rushing to a foolish fate, but rather that he comprehends in his greatness of soul — his emotions are externalized as his mother's intervention — that the forces of the universe are marshalled to encompass not only his but all his people's extinction, should he elect to continue the fight. He clearly sees that a heroic stand will involve the sacrifice of those whose salvation it is his duty and lies within his power to assure; success in extricating his band against overwhelming odds will earn him only the unglamorous and uninspiring title *pius*. In this tense interlude the Roman poet intended to raise to a loud crescendo his

theme that Aeneas no more willingly turns his back on Troy than he later sets out for Italy. And what he found strength to renounce was certainly a more intrepid, puissant, and terrible feat of arms than dealing a furtive quietus to a timid woman in the dark. *Reddite me Danais; sinite instaurata reuisam / proelia* (669f): these are the sort of words which linger on his lips after he has taken his decision but while his resolve is still unsteady, and from them we learn the alternative he had, but in bitterness, rejected.

14. THE AUTOGRAPHS OF VIRGIL

If we conclude, as a just appreciation of the evidence requires, that Virgil did not compose the Helen Episode, we still have to face a difficult technical problem. When Varius alighted on the manuscript sheets of the *Aeneid*, he cannot have found precisely what he edited:

RESPICIO ET QVAE SIT ME CIRCVM COPIA LVSTRO
 DESERVERE OMNES DEFESSI ET CORPORA SALTV
 AD TERRAM MISERE AVT IGNIBVS AEGRA DEDERE
 CVM MIHI SE NON ANTE OCVLIS TAM CLARA VIDENDAM
 OBTVLIT ET PVRA PER NOCTEM IN LVCE REFVLST
 ALMA PARENS . . .

The construction *respicio et lustrum* – *deseruere . . . dedere* – *cum mihi se uidendam obtulit parens* is quite grammatical, but obviously not what the poet intended. At his death the passage had not been completed. The autograph had reached the form 564, 565, 566, 624, 625, etc., with — perhaps in the margin, perhaps separately — verses 589–614 (half-line) and 615–623 (half-line) of the unfinished new scene. But is it likely that the poet (or his amanuensis) wrote down a sentence (. . . *cum obtulit*) with no beginning?⁴⁹ We must frankly acknowledge that the introduction to the *cum*-clause was in all probability composed and later deleted. We must also own to some puzzlement why Varius chose to effect a juncture between 566 and 589: if he had found a headless inverted *cum*-clause, he could simply have altered *cum* to *hic*. Perhaps Virgil did compose a line specifying the moment when Venus appeared,

⁴⁹ It is just possible. At *Aen.* 1.535 we come upon an inverted *cum*-clause not actually headless, but introduced by the merest stopgap:

hic cursus fuit,
 cum subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion
 in uada caeca tulit . . .

Clearly, the *cum*-clause was composed before Virgil had conceived the main clause in any detail.

and Varius felt forced to delete it as too harsh an indication that the preceding verses were never composed.

The thesis that these preceding verses were none other than the Helen Episode is, apart from argument given above, still untenable. If Varius judged that this section of the poem had not attained a satisfactory coherence, what possessed him to include the incomplete speech of Venus (half-line at 614) and the incomplete conclusion (half-line at 623) and to exclude the completed Helen scene — and, furthermore, cut it off in the middle of a sentence? If he decided that he had to excise a whole passage, the perfect solution stared him in the face: omit all the marginal verses and retain the earlier sequence . . . 565, 566, 624, 625, etc. But the evidence, namely the retention of half a sentence at 589 and half-lines at 614 and 623, supports the view that in exercising his editorial prerogative he did not willingly part with a single word.

Now some scholars, admitting that Varius would never have deleted the Helen Episode, yet strong in their faith of its authenticity, have altogether abandoned the Servian position and retreated to more shadowy ground. "Virgil's workshop must have been littered with rough drafts" (Shipley).⁵⁰ Thus it is hinted that the Helen Episode may be one of these alleged rough drafts and later found its way into the hands of a publisher.

Two passages from Aulus Gellius have been cited to support this hypothesis. The first is patently a fraud. At 1.21 Gellius refers to the text of *Georg.* 2.246f:

at sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
tristia temptantum sensu torquebit amaro.

The meaning is clear, the majuscules unanimously attest this text, and Macrobius adds his confirmation at *Sat.* 6.1.47. According to Gellius, however, Julius Hyginus claimed in his commentary on Virgil, and claimed with some insistence, that he had found *in libro qui fuerit ex domo atque familia Vergilii* the reading:

et ora
tristia temptantum *sensus* torquebit *amaror*.

Several of the learned at once agreed that logic demanded *sensus* . . . *amaror*, whilst Gellius' friend, the philosopher Favorinus, no sooner heard Hyginus' comment than he became mightily displeased with *sensu* . . . *amaro*, and pointed out Lucretius' use of *amaror* as *amaritudo*

⁵⁰ F. W. Shipley, "Virgilian Authorship of the Helen Episode, *Aeneid* II 567-588," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 184.

at 4.224. Servius repeats the assertion that *amaror* is the correct reading and adds the Lucretian reference but typically forgets to mention the necessary alteration to *sensus*. Virgil's practice and customary elegance forbid the uncouth *amaror*, and governing a genitive, too. Pleonasm of the type *sapor . . . sensu torquebit* are a feature of Latin verse style. Housman has collected a large list at Man. 1.539; 3.496; 4.472; 4.644; and Luc. 1. 102, of which a Virgilian example may be given here: *Aen.* 1.246, *it mare proruptum et pelago premit arua sonanti*, where *pelago . . . sonanti* after *mare* exactly corresponds to *sensu . . . amaro* after *sapor*. Clearly Hyginus is either trying to fool us or was fooled himself by an incorrect conjecture.

In the second passage, at 13.21, Gellius' testimony rests on the hearsay of an unnamed acquaintance. Valerius Probus, discussing *i*-stem accusative plurals, remarked on the fine discrimination which prompted Virgil to write *urbis* at *Georg.* 1.25 (PRγ:-es M) but *urbes* (FMP) at *Aen.* 3.106. By way of emphasizing his point he added that his *Georgics* manuscript was corrected by the poet's own hand. We cannot build much on this. In the two readings Probus' manuscripts agree with ours, and they were doubtless excellent. But whether ancient booksellers adhered scrupulously to the truth in advertising copies of the *Georgics* as "corrected by the author's own hand" and whether Virgil is likely to have devoted much of his day to such drudgery are questions that Probus might not, could we challenge him, be too confident about answering in the affirmative.

In section 33 of the *Life*, Donatus records that Virgil held private recitations, chiefly to poll the opinions of others over passages of his work concerning which he felt some doubt. Assume that at some such soirée a shorthand writer took down the Helen Episode, and we shall be able to argue that some ancient Pitman published it when it failed to turn up in the Varian edition. This, and other such speculations, must fail on the score of probability. The preceding paragraphs have given some idea of the minutiae which occupied the first Virgilians. If Aulus Gellius had come upon such treasure as twenty-two lines of genuine but uncanonical Virgil, we may be sure that he would have told us all about it. Or if not he, then someone else; for many voices, as we now shall see, inform us by their testimony of what Virgil wrote.

15. THE ACADEMIC TRADITION OF VIRGIL

Virgil had become a classic before his death. According to Suetonius, Quintus Caecilius Epirota, who founded his school at Rome about

26 B.C., first added the author to the curriculum. That on publication the *Aeneid* was immediately used as a textbook, we can hardly doubt. The tracts and treatises which it at once evoked betray as much an academic as a literary interest. However, adoption straightway by the schools had one excellent effect: the canon of the poet's work was established before any question of authenticity or spuriousness could arise. Not half a line could be lost; not half a line could be added. No one could hope to deceive such associates as Varius and Horace with verse falsely alleged to be the creation of Rome's greatest poet. These knew the facts and would have spoken out. Of course, this protective period could not last long, though it hardly ended before the death of Augustus. But it lasted long enough for the commentators to establish what may be called the academic tradition of Virgil. This tradition, which is attested in our oldest manuscripts of the poet, was handed on to, and in turn by, the ancient scholars who studied and taught and annotated Virgil — Hyginus and Modestus and Cornutus and Asper and Probus and so on; to all who drew upon them — Seneca, Pliny, Quintilian, Suetonius, Gellius, Macrobius; to the scholiasts on other authors — on Terence, Horace, Persius, Lucan, Juvenal; to the grammarians — Charisius, Diomedes, Priscian; to the lexicographers Festus and Nonius; to the fathers — Jerome, Augustine, Isidore. Naturally, their evidence is in general vague and cannot match the sharp focus on detail presented by our manuscripts; but in one respect, namely what verses of text they quote, their collective testimony has much greater authority. What needs to be recognized is that the witnesses here named are merely our oldest sources: in all probability the whole of these quotations existed as quotations, that is as an academic tradition, within fifty years of Virgil's death.

Table 4 lists this testimony for *Aen.* 2.525–624, that is for a 100-verse section including the Helen Episode. Each line quoted or partially quoted is followed by a reference to the quoting source; only one source is given, but where two or more are to be found, a plus sign is appended; in the case of the Virgilian commentators care has been taken to use as evidence, not the text they are annotating, but only their quotations. Further research with Ribbeck's testimonia will disclose that similar results obtain for the whole of *Aeneid* 2. For the portion under scrutiny it emerges that rarely does any authority quote more than two lines at a time (for any sizable portion, therefore, we possess a wide coverage of support); that half the text enjoys support from two or more witnesses; and that the largest unattested portion is of three lines (607–609), the largest doubly unattested portion of six (604–609). Except, of course,

525	Nonius 384.7	563	Audax <i>GL</i> 7.328 +
526	Arusianus <i>GL</i> 7.472	564	Schol. Hor. <i>Serm.</i> 1.1.57 +
528	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 12.476 +		
529	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 7. 533 +	589	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.407
530	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 7.533	590	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.407
531	Nonius 294.12	591	Servius <i>Buc.</i> 8.102 +
533	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 2.377	593	Acron Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 3.3.12
534	Arusianus <i>GL</i> 7.501	595	Charisius <i>GL</i> 1.269
535	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.2.2 +	596	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.254
536	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.97 +	597	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.254 +
537	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 11.856 +	598	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.254 +
538	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.114 +	599	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.254 +
539	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.114	600	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.254
540	Quintilianus 5.11.14 +	601	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 5.17.16 +
541	Quintilianus 5.11.14 +	602	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 3.62 +
544	Nonius 267.25 +	603	Donatus Ter. <i>Andr.</i> 883 +
545	Nonius 267.25 +	604	Macrobius <i>Somn. Scip.</i> 1.3.19
546	Porphyrio Hor. <i>Epist.</i> 1.3.32 +	605	Macrobius <i>Somn. Scip.</i> 1.3.19
547	Nonius 381.22 +	606	Macrobius <i>Somn. Scip.</i> 1.3.19
548	Donatus Ter. <i>Adelph.</i> 116 +	610	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 2.343 +
549	Charisius <i>GL</i> 1.268 +	611	Priscianus <i>GL</i> 2.343 +
550	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.4.14 +	612	Schol. Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 3.3.23
551	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.4.14 +	613	Schol. Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 3.3.23
553	Seneca <i>Suas.</i> 4.5 +	614	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.16
554	Acron Hor. <i>AP</i> 35 +	615	Schol. Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 1.15.11 +
555	Acron Hor. <i>AP</i> 35	616	Schol. Hor. <i>Carm.</i> 1.15.11 +
556	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.3.6	617	Nonius 386.5 +
557	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.3.6 +	618	Diomedes <i>GL</i> 1.411 +
558	Schol. Veron. <i>Aen.</i> 7.337 +	619	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.382
559	Diomedes <i>GL</i> 1.408	620	Schol. Veron. <i>Aen.</i> 2.633 +
560	Macrobius <i>Sat.</i> 4.6.9 +	622	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.407
561	Schol. Iuven. 4.94 +	623	Servius <i>Aen.</i> 1.407
562	Nonius 403.27	624	Probus <i>GL</i> 4.223 +

Table 4. Ancient Testimony to *Aeneid* 2.525-624

the Helen Episode. The total absence of 567-588 proves pretty conclusively that the Helen Episode never formed part of the academic tradition.

The same is true of the *Culex*, for Nonius' quotation of 53 (211.24) and Donatus' of 413f (*Vit.* 18) are all the testimonia that can be found. Fraenkel has demonstrated, for the benefit of any who might still doubt, why the *Culex* cannot have been written by Virgil.⁵¹ More than that, he explains the motives which prompted the fake and adopts W. R. Hardie's reasoning that it was executed in the reign of Tiberius. The really significant thing, however, is that whilst the *Culex* "was at an early stage accepted as Virgilian by men of good judgement and high rank in literature, Lucan, Statius, Martial, and Suetonius," the canon had already been definitively established by the academic tradition. The *Culex* could never become a text for the commentator. It was too late. Texts of Virgil had spread to schools and libraries all over Italy and the Empire. However skilful a faker might be, he lacked the means to impose his fraud on the world at large. The man responsible for the deception had to rest content with his limited success in tainting the biographical tradition. Notice again the terms of Virgil's will in Donatus *Vit.* 40: "he bequeathed his writings jointly to Varius and Tucca, stipulating that they should publish nothing not already published by himself." The stipulation is absurd: Virgil had published the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*; therefore they were not to publish the *Aeneid*. Then why not say so? The clause only makes sense when we realize that it is a fabrication to account for the absence of the spurious minor works from the academic tradition.

16. THE AUTHOR OF THE HELEN EPISODE

To conclude, let us attempt a composite description of the author of the Helen Episode. We have seen that he was thoroughly conversant with Virgil's *Aeneid*; that he was aware of Virgil's employment of the Golden Section; that he has overdone Virgil's metrical technique, giving one the impression that he himself wrote in smoother hexameters; that his theatrical sense and skilful use of verbal variation mark him out as an effective rhetorician and student of the drama. He was evidently familiar with Ennius' *Hectoris Lytra* (cf. Sc. 181 and *Aen.* 2.582) and Euripides' *Orestes* (cf. 1137ff). To this we may now add that he composed the verses before A.D. 65, which seems assured by

⁵¹ Eduard Fraenkel, *JRS* 42 (1952) 1-9 (*Kleine Beiträge*, II 181-197).

Lucan's dependence on them at 10.53ff (tentatively suggested by Haskins, accepted by Francken, more cautiously by Austin, and finally established by Bruère⁵²):

- 53 *iam* . . .
 56 . . . *cum* . . . Cleopatra . . .
 59 dedecus Aegypti, Latii furialis *erinys*,
 60 Romano non casta malo. quantum impulit *Argos*
Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti,
 Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra *furoros*.
 terruit illa suo, si *fas*, Capitolia sistro
 et Romana petit imbelli signa Canopo
 65 Caesare captiuo Pharios ductura *triumphos*.

Unfortunately, Bruère tries to prove too much: that "Virgil's Helen episode remained in Lucan's memory as he continued his tenth book." He sees traces of *limina Vestae / seruantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem / Tyndarida* in:

- 458 *ceu* puer imbellis uel captis femina muris,
 quaerit tuta domus; spem uitae in limine clauso
 460 ponit, et incerto lustrat uagus atria cursu.

These verses, however, draw their inspiration from *Aen.* 2.515ff (516 *ceu* . . . 528 *uacua atria lustrat*): the unwarlike youth and the roaming through the rooms recall Polites (not Aeneas), and the word *femina* recalls Hecuba (not Helen). As for *sumpturus poenas* a little later, at 10.462, that need have no particular source (cf. *Aen.* 2.103, 6.501, 11.720, 12.949). Naturally, it would be helpful to know that Lucan found the Helen Episode in the text of an edition of *Aen.* 2, but the evidence falls short of this. Lucan was steeped in Virgil: Heitland's incomplete list of parallels fills no less than sixteen pages.⁵³ Moreover, Lucan was, like Persius, a pupil of the eminent rhetorician Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, who wrote a commentary on Virgil. We cannot be sure that Lucan's echoes of the Helen Episode derive from a text of Virgil rather than from sources into which a study of the *Aeneid* had taken him. Besides his obvious interest in that epic, he was sufficiently fascinated by the fall of Troy to write a poem so titled. Lucan attributed the *Culex* to Virgil, and it is quite possible that he similarly

⁵² Richard T. Bruère, "The Helen Episode in *Aeneid* 2 and Lucan," *CP* 59 (1964) 267.

⁵³ W. E. Heitland in C. E. Haskins, ed. *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia* (London 1887) cx-cxxvi.

erred in attributing the Helen Episode to him, too. But it does not necessarily follow that he found either in an edition of the poet.

Indeed, since persons to whom fakes are traced draw upon themselves the eye of suspicion, we might spare a thought for the possibility that Lucan composed the Helen Episode himself. He certainly fits the composite description we have sketched above. It is futile to expect much evidence from the *Civil War*, for, as we have seen in respect of metre, the author of the Helen Episode is attempting to disguise his own person by putting on the mantle of another. One consideration deserves attention, for it is this which has led so many to place absolute trust in their intuition with sublime disregard of the case against authenticity: Lucan above all others possesses the requisite genius.

The author of the disputed verses is no poetaster, like the authors of the *Culex* and the *Ciris*. "The happiest imitation of Virgil's manner," wrote Charles James Fox, "that I ever saw. I am indeed so unwilling to believe them any other than genuine, that rather than I would consent to such an opinion, I should be inclined to think that Virgil himself had written and afterwards erased them on account of their inconsistency with the account he gives of Helen in the Sixth Book." Herein finds voice the common feeling of all Virgilians; or, at least, of all modern editors of Virgil, not one of whom has brought himself to leave these verses where Servius left them. But, though such admiration decreases by not a grain the mass of evidence against their genuineness, it correspondingly raises the stature of the composer, whoever he was. "None but a Virgil ever wrote them," pronounced Henry, "and there never was but one Virgil."⁵⁴ Our era of scholarship may not care to dispute these frabjous syllogistics, but former times brought forth impressive judges who lent a sympathetic ear to Lucan's defiant challenge: *et quantum mihi restat / ad Culicem?* Not without cause did Shelley prefer him to Virgil, and Macaulay place some of his speeches above Cicero's best. Experience of life he lacks, but what do you ask? He died at an age when neither Virgil nor Horace had published a word.

The shroud of time now covers up the evidence which alone could identify the author of the Helen Episode. We must leave him nameless. The notion that he is the poet Lucan, in all probability false, will nevertheless restrain us, when we ponder the facts of the case, from too ready a confidence in some vaguer but incompatible hypothesis; and it may suggest the time and milieu in which composition took place. Furthermore, with the words of Fox ringing in our ears and the fantastic thought that the composer might just conceivably have been the

⁵⁴ Henry (above, n. 47) 277.

greatest of Roman literary prodigies — *heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!* — we shall be able to reconstruct the drift of that scholium, perhaps from the very commentary of Cornutus, which Servius with his breezy disregard for accuracy has rewritten to the perplexity and deception of after ages:

Schol. ad *Aen.* 2.592: <... hinc autem aliquid deesse Veneris uerba declarant dicentis (601) "non ... Lacaenae." unde ingeniosus quidam poeta, ut locum expleret, uersus composuit sequentes. qui tamen mirumquantum Vergilium sapiunt, adeo ut dixerit quispiam potius ab ipso scriptos esse et postea ab eius emendatoribus sublato: "aut ignibus aegra dedere — iamque adeo . . .">

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NOTES ON OVID: III¹

CORRECTIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS IN THE *HEROIDES*

E. J. KENNEY

2.103-106 quid precor infelix? te iam tenet altera coniunx
 forsitan et nobis qui male fuit amor,
 utque tibi excidimus, nullam puto Phyllida nosti.
 ei mihi, si quae sim Phyllis et unde rogas!

103 te iam *P*:iam te *E*²*G* ω ;te *om.* *E*¹

IN line 103 the omission of *te* by *E*¹ points to *iam te* in its exemplar:² support for *te iam* is thus effectively reduced (so far as regards the manuscripts used by me) to *P*, a fact difficult to infer from the editions.³ In line 104 *alter* must be understood from *altera* in line 103 as qualifying *amor*: Leo compared *Her.* 12.205, 20.35.⁴ He also remarked that *amor* must be understood both as passion and deity: cf. my discussion of *Am.* 2.9.23-24, with references.⁵ About line 105 as transmitted harsh things have been said. "Ineptum est *ut*, inepte in protasin et apodosin dividuntur, quae eandem sententiam continent," objected Madvig;⁶ and suggested *atque*, which in fact is in one manuscript (Guelf. Gud. 297, saec. xv) but which on metrical grounds is inadmissible.⁷ Housman

¹ Cf. "Notes on Ovid," "Notes on Ovid: II," in *CQ* n.s. 8 (1958) 54-66 and 9 (1959) 240-260. These articles are referred to here as "Notes I" and "Notes II." In the critical annotation *P* = Par. Lat. 8242, saec. ix; *p* = *P* man. sec. saec. xi; *E* = Etonensis 150 (Bl.6.5), saec. xi; *G* = Guelferbytanus extrav. 260, saec. xii. Other individual MSS are named as they occur. ω = all or most of the *recentiores* (some twenty-odd) that I propose eventually to use for my text in the O.C.T. series; ς = some or a few of them.

² *E*¹ in fact reads *iam tenet et altera*, not *iam tenet te altera* (as reported by Sedlmayer). The *et* is a casual dittography and has no bearing on the matter in hand.

³ There is no note on the verse in the second edition of R. Giomini (1963).

⁴ F. Leo, *Analecta Plautina* I 46 = *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* I (1960) 121.

⁵ *Notes* I 61; to those references add J. Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation du latin littéraire* (1949) 117-118; R. G. Bury's note on "Epws at Plat. Symp. 196C; and on metonymy in general M. Haupt, *Opusc.* II 165ff.

⁶ *Adversaria critica* II (1873) 70.

⁷ Cf. *Notes* I 59.

dismissed *utque* just as tersely: "Ovid is not fond of using any word in any sense which produces such results as 'since you have forgotten me, you have forgotten me,'" and proposed *iamque*.⁸ To these attempts "nescio quis" *ap.* Palmer added *usque*.

What all those who have tried to emend *utque* away appear to have overlooked is that the context dictates that *-que* in line 105 must connect *tenet* and *nostī*. Furthermore the transmitted text is not merely tautologous: *nostī* does not simply repeat the sense of *tibi excidimus*, for it is continuous in sense where *excidimus* is momentary. Housman's translation of the verse is a crude oversimplification; the implication of the two verbs is rather "At that moment you did not know me, and you have not known me since that moment." Palmer's interpretation of *ut* as "since," derided by Housman, is indeed not wholly adequate: for the "momentary" sense of the word which lends point to the sentiment and the expression here cf. *Her.* 3.59 *quod scelus ut pauidas miserae mihi contigit aures, / sanguinis atque animi pectus inane fuit*; also 6.31, 9.161, 12.57, 137, 13.29, *A.A.* 3.729, *al.* "Since that moment when you forget me, *it is as if* you never knew me: I cannot bear to think of your saying 'Phyllis? Phyllis? Who is she?'"

3.III-II2 si tibi nunc dicam, fortissime, "tu quoque iura
nulla tibi sine me gaudia facta," neges.

III *Briseidos orationem post fortissime incipere fecit Chappuyzi: post dicam plerique* II2 *pacta Heinsius: capta Bentleyus*

Chappuyzi's text, modified chiefly, as here, in matters of punctuation from that of the Classiques-Lemaire, will be found in volume 1 of the complete edition of Ovid published at Paris in 1834-1836 by C. L. F. Panckoucke. His punctuation of line 111 is followed, so far as I know, only by E. Ripert in his edition in the Garnier series. I do not know, though I can easily guess, why editors have been so nearly unanimous in preferring the vulgate punctuation, which seems to me inferior. Proof of the point is hardly possible, but the following considerations appear relevant. (1) Ovid tends to add *o* to vocatives used in O.R. (2) In the absence of any such signal here, the reader of an unpunctuated text — an important figure whom editors should bear constantly in mind — would take *fortissime* as referring back to *tibi* rather than forward. (3) In the general context of what Briseis is saying (see lines 115-116 in particular) *fortissime* seems more pointed addressed directly by her to Achilles than as part of her imagined adjuration. However, in the last analysis I prefer Chappuyzi's punctuation because it reads

⁸ CR 13 (1899) 175-176.

better *to me*; and when the criteria are, as here, by no means hard and fast, there is something to be said for giving the suggested alternative a turn in the text so that other readers may, so to say, get their tongues round it.⁹

If the testimony of *T.L.L.* is complete and accurate, the phrase *gaudium/-a facere* is of very limited occurrence in classical Latin (as distinct from the Vulgate); for convenience' sake I will transcribe the relevant passages.¹⁰ *C.L.E.* 361.2 *plouruma que fecit populo soueis gaudia nuges*, Livy 3.28.3 *alibi pauorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit*, Lucan 6.226–227 *maiora uiris ex sanguine paruo | gaudia non faceret conspectum in Caesare uolnus*. On the strength of this evidence one can hardly say that *facta* in line 112 is impossible; but it seems highly anomalous. Heinsius' "potest et vulgata ferri" must, one would guess, have been extorted from an unwilling heart. His own *pacta* he wisely did not print. Bentley's *capta* gives an apparently Ovidian phrase:¹¹ *gaudia capere* is used of the joys of love at *Met.* 12.198 *utque nouae Veneris Neptunus gaudia cepit*, and less specifically at *Met.* 7.513, *Tr.* 5.8.21. The phrase is in fact, as a glance at *T.L.L.* will show, standard Latin.¹² But other possibilities exist and cannot be wholly discounted: *carpta* (*A.A.* 3.661 *aliae tua gaudia carpent*); *sumpta* (*Rem.* 401 *gaudia ne dominae, pleno si corpore sumes, te capiant . . .*); *iuncta* (*A.A.* 2.481 *. . . cum quo sua gaudia iungat*); *nota* (*Am.* 2.3.2 *mutua nec Veneris gaudia nosse potes*); *rapta* (*Her.* 18.43 *gaudia rapturo si quis tibi claudere uellet | aerios aditus . . .*); and, unsanctioned by Ovidian or other parallels, e.g. *parta*.¹³ Palaeographically *capta* is perhaps the strongest candidate: cf. *Ibis* 372, where the manuscripts are divided between *facta* and *capta*.¹⁴ However, it

⁹ Compare the remarks of J. S. Phillimore in his scurrilous and diverting address to the Classical Association, *The Revival of Criticism* (1919), p. 28, apropos of Emil Baehrens: "It is a hazardous thing to say; but, to give a fair chance to a probable emendation, you must put it in the text, on probation." Bentley's edition of Horace is chiefly remarkable because he not only perceived this truth but dashingly acted on his perception: cf. J. H. Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley* (2nd ed., 1833) I 313–316. G. P. Goold is right to remark (*HSCP* 67 [1963] 295) that Monk "discloses a much juster appreciation of the work than it has been generally accorded."

¹⁰ *T.L.L.* VI 2.1714.6off. Pliny *N.H.* 7.134 is different from these and, for the present purpose, irrelevant.

¹¹ I say "apparently" *ex abundanti cautela* since Ovid nowhere else uses *any* verb in the pf. part. pass. agreeing with *gaudia*. The point is of course equally relevant to any correction or interpretation of the verse.

¹² *Loc. cit.* (above, n. 10) 29ff.

¹³ Suggested to me by Professor H. F. Guite.

¹⁴ Perhaps here the sequence of corruption was *capta* > *pacta* > *facta*, as suggested by Mrs. J. P. Hallett.

seems that this is one of those cases where the prudent editor must go on printing what he strongly suspects, or even knows, that Ovid did not write because there is no way of telling what he did write; or, in the words of the principle frequently commended to me by Professor F. R. D. Goodyear, "inter tot ueri similia uerum latet."

4.19-20 uenit amor grauius quo serius: urimur intus,
urimur, et caecum pectora uulnus habent.

19 grauius PE ω :grauior G, Francofurtanus Barth 110, saec. xii/xiii serius G ω :serior PE, L(ouaniensis Bibl. Vniu. 411 nunc deperditus, saec. xii), V(atic. Lat. 3254, saec. xii)

The first of these variants need not detain us: Ovid, other possibilities being open to him, is not likely to have written *amór grauiór. serior*, however, is another matter. If up to now it has not been taken seriously into account, that is probably because among the more respectable, or at any rate the older, witnesses only the Etonensis was known to offer it. That it is also the reading of, *inter alios*, P is now recorded by Giomini¹⁵ and was noted independently by me from a photograph. Intrinsically *serior* is every bit as good as *serius* and perhaps better. With verbs of motion the predicative use of *serus* and similar adjectives is common: *Her.* 2.101 *redeas modo serus amanti*, *Rem.* 109-110 *serior aegro | aduocor*, *Fasti* 3.350 *tarda uenit dictis difficilisque fides*. Aesthetically it may be argued that a more elegant distribution of assonance and metrical ictus is offered by

uenit amór grauiús quo sérior: úrimur íntus

than by the vulgate. For the variation between adverb and predicative adjective an analogy, if not a precise parallel, is provided by *A.A.* 2.223-224 *iussus adesse foro iussa maturius hora | fac semper uenias, nec nisi serus abi*.¹⁶ If P read *serius* an editor might be in some doubt as to his duty; as it is, where the claims of *ratio et res ipsa* are not decisive the voice of manuscript "authority" may for once in a way be allowed to tilt the balance.¹⁷ To the question "utrum in alterum abiturum erat?" there can be, I take it, only one answer.

¹⁵ His note reads "serior E, et P (sic)"; he prints *serius* in the text.

¹⁶ Also perhaps worth quoting is *Hor. Sat.* 1.2.15 *quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urget*. These variations are a little different from those discussed by J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (1965) 172-173.

¹⁷ Critics and editors eternally need to have their attention drawn to (a less urbane writer might say have their noses rubbed in) what Housman observed in his edition of Juvenal, p. xv. Cf. B. A. van Groningen, *Traité d'histoire et de critique des textes grecs* (1963) 115, on the principle *lectio melior potior*.

4.137-138 nec labor est celare licet pete munus ab illa.
 cognato poterit nomine culpa tegi.

137 nec labor est celare, licet peccemus, amorem *Palmer*

I see no point in reviewing the attempts made to correct line 137 before 1874. In that year Palmer's first edition of the *Heroides* appeared containing the conjecture recorded above, which made them all obsolete.¹⁸ His correction, proposed in the notes, was welcomed and received into the text by Sedlmayer; thus encouraged, Palmer placed it in the text of his second edition of 1898, where it seems to have met with Housman's approval. However, I do not think that the difficulty can be regarded as completely solved by Palmer's suggestion. His solution of the crux entails the assumption that everything from *pete* to the end of the verse has strayed into the context from outside. It is possible that, as Palmer thought, untimely reminiscence of *A.A.* 2.575 *quam mala, Sol, exempla moues! pete munus ab ipsa* played a part; but I do not think it very profitable to seek to enquire more closely into the mechanism of the postulated corruption, which must have been elaborate and can hardly be reconstructed convincingly. Essentially Palmer's diagnosis must be correct on "internal" grounds, i.e. consideration of sense, structure, and latinity. (1) Unless *celare* is itself corrupt or interpolated, which seems on the whole unlikely,¹⁹ it must be complemented by an object in the accusative case: nowhere else in Ovid is *celo* used absolutely without an accusative of the thing concealed or the person from whom concealment is practised. (Scarcely less powerful than this argument is what some would call the subjective conviction that *celare* "must" be looking forward, not back; to anyone familiar with Ovid's style the "feel" of the line in its context dictates this approach.) (2) That object can hardly be anything but the passion of Phaedra and Hippolytus. (3) If *licet* is not to be treated as a one-word parenthesis,²⁰ it too must have its complement, which is likely, or more likely than not, to be a verb, which the economy of the line dictates shall be juxtaposed to it.

¹⁸ Attempts to salvage some of all of the transmitted text of the second half of the verse have nevertheless continued: cf. A. Ker, *Ovidiana* (ed. N. I. Herescu 1958) 226-227; Giomini *ad loc.*; Giangrande, *Mnem.* ser. 4, 20 (1967) 418-421. At the risk of seeming cavalier I propose to ignore them in this discussion.

¹⁹ The critic must proceed empirically, avoiding on the one hand undue timidity in the use of the knife, on the other the gratuitous excision of sound tissue. Nothing *seems* to be wrong with the transmitted text up to and including *licet*.

²⁰ It is so treated in some of the attempts referred to in n. 18 above, but the results are abrupt and graceless.

(4) The endings of the Latin verb being what they are, the last word of the line is more likely than not to begin with a vowel.²¹ The upshot of these considerations is that Palmer's *amorem* emerges as easily the most plausible candidate for the end of the verse. *peccemus*, on the other hand, seems to me dubiously appropriate, in spite of the support which it might seem to receive from *culpa* in line 138. In the context the sentiment "it would be easy to conceal our love even if we should *offend*" or "step out of line" is not pointed enough, or rather it is pointed in the wrong way. By "context" in the foregoing sentence I mean in fact the verse itself: that is to say, the (reconstructed) structure of line 137 entails that the rhetoric is largely self-contained. The postulated form of the verse, with the *licet* clause in parenthesis and the phrase *celare . . . amorem* embracing it, exacts that the dominant interaction should be between its two grammatical components. In other words, since the *licet* clause is concessive, the relationship between its verb and *celare . . . amorem* must be antithetical. *peccemus* provides no antithesis, and is indeed irrelevant to the idea of concealment. Thus the context seems to me to demand some such sense as: "even if we should *be seen expressing our affection in public*, our relationship will make it easy to conceal the true character of our behaviour"; this idea, succinctly expressed in this single couplet, is then taken up, expanded and embellished in the verses that follow. Two possibilities exist, or have occurred to me: either a verb agreeing with *amor* (understood from *amorem*) or a verb whose subject is "we." In the first category nothing that I have thought of seems worth recording here, and if any of my rejected possibilities in this (or indeed in the second) category is proposed by anybody else I hereby undertake not to claim priority. In the second category I should propose *presemur* if Ovid elsewhere used the frequentative form in the sense "in flagrante delicto inuenire." Since he does not I propose, *exempli gratia*, a less colourful but perfectly appropriate verb:

nec labor est celare, licet *prendamur*, amorem.

Neither this nor any other (by me imaginable) conjecture should be printed in the text: the obelus is here mandatory. This note has two aims: (1) to argue that Palmer's solution was in the main on the right lines and that those who recur to the pre-1874 fashion of explaining the

²¹ The postulated verb to go with *licet* might be 2nd pers. sing. pres. subj. pass./middle in *-ere* or *-are*. But words of baccheic form beginning with a consonant and meaning "love" or indeed anything that might be suitable in the context do not readily come to mind. However, this line of enquiry should not be regarded as closed.

transmitted text or tinkering it piecemeal are wrong; (2) to suggest that *prendamur*, or some other more appropriate word of similar import, if such exists, should be promoted in the critical notes of future editions to precedence over Palmer's *peccemus*.

4.155-156 depuduit profugusque pudor sua signa reliquit.
da ueniam fassae duraque corda doma.

155 reliquit EGω:relinquit Ps

I report the readings of the manuscripts, but they do not affect the point at issue: *relinquit* is clearly right. The transmitted text of line 155 raises one doubt and incurs one objection. *depuduit* might come either from *depudet* or *depudescō*. T.L.L. *teste* the only other occurrence²² of the former verb in Latin is at Velleius 2.73.3 *cum eum non depuderet uindicatum armis ac ductu patris sui mare infestare piraticis sceleribus*, where, whether the text is sound or not, the sense must be *puderet*.²³ The meaning required here would be given by *depudescō* "lose the sense of shame"; that the verb is not otherwise attested earlier than Apuleius need not count against it, given Ovid's well-known penchant for ἀπαξ εἰρημένα, of which more in a moment. Hence Bentley's *depudui* is in itself an easy and acceptable correction. However, the repetition entailed by *depudui*[t] . . . *pudor* is indefensible, because totally without point, rhetorical or other: Ovid did not write thus. Heinsius, as might be expected, saw this clearly, but his *rubor* will not do as the subject of *sua signa reliquit*: blushes, even in synecdoche (if that is the right name for *rubor* = *pudor*), are too impermanent to have a station and consequently cannot be said to quit one. Thus there is an impasse; and the only way of extrication that suggests itself to me is a singularly bold one, involving the addition of a word to the lexicon. Perhaps Ovid wrote

derubui, profugusque pudor sua signa reliquit.

"I have lost the power to blush, and my sense of shame has broken ranks and deserted." *derubesco* is attested only in a glossary = ἀπερυσθῆναι; but it is respectably formed,²⁴ and the change to *depudui*(t) is easily

²² T.L.L. V 617.60-62. Sen. *De const. sap.* in Lewis and Short is a false reference.

²³ In Amerbach's apograph the *de* is superscript. Emendation to *dispuderet* does not appear to have been suggested. Mr. A. J. Woodman, who has been kind enough to advise me here, observes that the principle of *lectio difficilior* would be better secured by keeping *depuderet* and deleting *non*.

²⁴ See Hofmann-Szantyr (above, n. 16) 263, and the literature there referred to, particularly J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* II (1928) 183.

explicable by what may be called anticipatory assimilation.²⁵ Ovid's love of rare or unique compounds, some of them in all probability nonce-words, coinages of his own, is well known: cf. E. Linse, *De P. Ovidio Nasone vocabulorum inventore* (1891) 52–55. Examples with *de-* include two unique in Latin, *demurmuro* (*Met.* 14.58) and *defrenatus* (1.282); a striking example of a double compound which was obviously created by Ovid for a particular effect in a single context is found at *Met.* 11.728–730 *adiacet undis / facta manu moles, quae primas aequoris iras*²⁶ / *frangit et incursus quae praedelassat aquarum*. A poet who could create the magnificent *praedelasso* would have had little compunction about *derubesco*, the simple *rubesco* being already a part of his vocabulary (six times). We may remind ourselves also that the boundary between the survival and the extinction of a Latin word in the manuscript tradition of our authors might be all too easily crossed: *dissors* (*Am.* 2.12.11) would be attested only by grammarians and glossaries were it not for the fidelity of the Puteaneus (and now the Hamiltonensis). Would lexicographers have admitted its existence in classical Latin if it stood in Ovid's text only because Heinsius or Bentley had conjectured it?

4.175–176 addimus his precibus lacrimas quoque: uerba precantis
perlegis et lacrimas finge uidere meas.

176 perlegis et *PE*ω:perlege set *Cantab. Bibl. Vniu. Add.* 7221, saec. xiii:
perlege et *G*5

In the last verse of an Epistle *perlege* is absurd; *perlegis*, however one punctuates, is little if at all better. Hence expedients such as Burman's *perlegis*; *at . . .* or Heinsius' *perlegito* do not help. What does not appear to have been noticed is that the very next Epistle begins with the word *perlegis*;²⁷ it is thus possible that *perlegis* in the present passage has come in from the following verse.²⁸ The editors who report Heinsius' bad conjecture fail to notice that he also made a good one, *dum legis*; impatience with their obtuseness or negligence is tempered by the

²⁵ Cf. L. Havet, *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins* (1911) 134, 176.

²⁶ *iras* 5, prob. Heinsius: *undas* codd. plerique (I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this note, which is based on a comparison of Magnus and Slater).

²⁷ The introductory distich is defended by H. Dörrie, *Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Ovids Epistulae Heroidum* (1960) 208, but it is most unlikely (to put it no more strongly) to be Ovidian: cf. *Gnomon* 33 (1961) 485.

²⁸ This could easily have happened even if a line containing the title *Oenone Paridi* intervened. It is by no means certain that the titles of the individual Epistles are ancient, though I think it more probable than not that they are.

reflection that Heinsius himself suppressed it in favour of *perlegito*. His other alternative suggestion, *ut legis*, is inferior, as is my own *qui legis. dum legis*, given the circumstances emphasized above, represents a small and plausible change and gives excellent sense: "while you read my words, imagine also (*et*) that you see my tears."

6.9 cur mihi fama prior quam littera nuntia uenit?

quam littera nuntia *Es*:quam nuntia littera *ς*:de te quam littera *Gς*:*deest P*

Of the three versions offered by the manuscripts that of *Es* is clearly superior; it is universally scorned by the editors, who have tended to print the *de te* of *Gς*, a banal gloss. *nuntia*, which must be construed predicatively with *uenit*,²⁹ is more elegant and forceful following *littera* than preceding it: "why has rumour arrived with the news before a letter?"

7.39-41 . . . aut mare, quale uides agitari nunc quoque uentis,
quo tamen aduersis fluctibus ire paras.
quo fugis? . . .

In line 40 the *quo* of the tradition is explained as "on which"; Palmer dismissed *quod* (Itali) as "too strong an idiom to force on Ovid against the MSS." Ovidian usage in fact imperatively demands *qua* "by which way"; and this neglected conjecture of the Itali, mentioned by Heinsius³⁰ and approved by Housman, should not merely be mentioned but placed in the text. Cf. 16.333 *quaque feres gressus*, 18.158 *quaque uiam fecit Thessala pinus, eam*, 170 *qua sit iter*, *Am.* 2.16.51, 3.10.38, *A.A.* 2.64, *Rem.* 532, *al. quo* obviously came in from the following verse, but the corruption is easy: cf. *A.A.* 1.285 *qua* RO: *quo* Aω.

7.91-92 his tamen officiis utinam contenta fuisset,
et mihi concubitus fama sepulta foret!

"Would that I had confined myself to humanitarian duties and that the story of our union had been buried." If Dido had confined herself to such duties there would have been no union and no *fama*; common sense and literary form combine to demand that she must have said so, i.e. that line 92 should read "and that I had not become your lover."

²⁹ Cf. *Her.* 9.143 *scribenti nuntia uenit / fama*; *Met.* 14.726 *nec tibi fama mei uentura est nuntia leti*, etc.

³⁰ Heinsius found it in the "Scriverianus" = Guelferb. extrav. 264.12: Dörrie (above, n. 27) 407.

Editors continue to print the mixture of inconsistency and bad taste offered by the transmitted text although the remedy was proposed by Werfer as long ago as 1814: *nec . . . concubitu*. However, one further touch, I think, is needed before the verse can be pronounced satisfactory. The parallel passage adduced by Werfer to support his conjecture is *ex P.* 1.5.85 *tunc cum mea fama sepulta est*; and that suggests to me that he should have gone the whole hog and proposed *nec mea concubitu. fama* needs closer definition than it gets without *mea*: it is *Dido's* reputation that was destroyed by her liaison with Aeneas. The corruption must have passed through two stages: (1) accidental alteration of *concubitu* to *concubitus* by dittography before *fama*; (2) deliberate change of *et mea* to *nec mihi* to give a construction.

7.127-128 est etiam frater, cuius manus impia possit
respergi nostro, sparsa cruore uiri.

127 possit PEG ω :posset Oxon. Bibl. Bodl. Canon. class. Lat. 1, saec. xiii:
poscit s

The vulgate text with *possit* has Dido take a very cool view of the situation: her bloodthirsty brother "may" dabble his hands in her life's blood. *poscit*, the reading of the old editions before Heinsius, commended itself tentatively to Sedlmayer and was rightly placed in the text by Bornecque and Ripert. For the uncommon construction with the infinitive cf. *Met.* 8.707-708 *esse sacerdotes delubraque uestra tueri / poscimus*; here by contrast the use of *posco* of an impious prayer is no doubt ironical.³¹ For the corruption cf. *Rem.* 321 *poscit* REKs : *possit* m: *posset* s; and perhaps also *Her.* 8.34, where it may be that we should read

plus quo, quo³² prior est ordine, *poscit* auus.

7.141-142 hoc duce nempe deo uentis agitaris iniquis
et teris in rapido tempora longa freto.

142 rapido PG ω :rabido ELV

Palmer *ad loc.* remarks that "it may be better to read *rabido* here," comparing the use of *insanus* at 1.6 and 18.28; he does not appear to be

³¹ For the use of *posco* in prayers E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957) 171 n. 2, compares Norden on *Aen.* 6.45, Heinze on *Hor. C.* 1.31.1.

³² Accepting, provisionally, Palmer's *quo, quo* for the *quoque qui* of the MSS; Housman, *CR* 11 (1897) 106, scornfully dismissed Palmer's correction in favour of Bentley's *patre quo . . . pollet*.

aware that *rabido* has manuscript support.³³ The authority of E is hardly to be pressed in this or any other matter;³⁴ and when it alone offers *rabido* at line 65 of this same Epistle it is almost certainly wrong. In that verse, *finge age te rapido . . . turbine deprendi*, *rapidus* bears its ordinary sense of "swift," which is perfectly appropriate. In the present passage, however, the natural meaning of *rapidum fretum* would be "a strait with a strong current," such as the Euripus: cf. Pomp. Mela 2.108 *Euripon uocant, rapidum mare*, Livy 28.30.6 *quiqueremem satis credens deprensam rapido in freto in aduersum aestum reciprocari non posse*. Here any such idea is out of place: *fretum* must = simply "sea," for which *rapidus* is not in general an appropriate epithet.³⁵ *rabidus* on the other hand is just right: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5.802 *rabiem tantam caelique marisque*. Confusion between the two words is of course common: cf. *Her.* 10.96, 11.111, both cases where *rabidus* seems the right word.³⁶

16.141-146 magna quidem de te rumor praeconia fecit,
nullaque de facie nescia terra tua est.
nec tibi per usquam Phrygia nec solis ab ortu
inter formosas altera nomen habet.
credis et hoc nobis? minor est tua gloria uero,
famaque de forma paene maligna tua est.

141-144 sola habet π (ed. Parmensis 1477)³⁷ 143 par usquam Phrygiae
Naugerius

In line 143 Naugerius' correction economically restores sense and metre to the first part of the line; and, though exact parallels for *usquam* with the genitive are apparently not forthcoming, the Latin seems acceptable. But the verse as thus emended and as printed by editors is still gravely defective. The structure with *nec . . . nec* requires that *solis ab ortu* should respond to *usquam Phrygiae*, and this it absolutely cannot do. Micyllus' explanation of *solis ab ortu* as "in toto Oriente" is the merest impudence; it appears to have imposed on, for instance, Prévost, who renders "aux contrées où se lève le soleil."³⁸ The phrase in fact cannot be interpreted as it stands without doing violence to the

³³ Its presence in E was reported by E. S. Shuckburgh (1879).

³⁴ Dörrie (above, n. 27) 115, 121, 127; cf. *CQ* n.s. 12 (1962) 21 n. 8.

³⁵ Cf. Lachmann on Lucret. 4.712; I have never seen his dictum refuted.

³⁶ Cf. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (1956) 203. Giomini prints *rapidis*, *rapidarum* in these verses.

³⁷ See Dörrie (above, n. 27) 377-379, for a demonstration that this edition is the only extant independent witness for the text of *Her.* 16.39-144, 21.147-250.

³⁸ So also Ripert.

Latin, not because it is corrupt but because it is incomplete. Analogous contexts elsewhere demand that it must have formed one half of a polar expression of which the missing half meant "west": cf. Ov. *ex P.* 1.4.29–30 *Caesaris ira mihi nocuit, quem solis ab ortu / solis ad occasus utraque terra tremit*, Hor. *C.* 4.15.15–16 *porrecta maiestas ad ortus / solis ab Hesperio cubili*.³⁹ In other words *ortus solis* can only indicate a direction, a point of the compass, not an extent of territory, and hence it cannot possibly complement *Phrygia*, whatever tricks are played with the syntax.⁴⁰ The difficulty may be met in two ways: either

(i) By expelling *inter formosas* from line 144 as otiose, i.e. as a gloss, and replacing it with (e.g.) *solis ad occasus*, borrowed from the Ovidian passage quoted above; or

(ii) By assuming the loss of a couplet consisting of pentameter + hexameter,⁴¹ within which the complement of *solis ab ortu* occurred, whether in the simple form *solis ad occasus* or in the shape of some more

³⁹ Cf. Bentley *ad loc.* and E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957) 451 n. 4. I do not know exactly what one is to make of Ennius *Varia* 21–22 V., *a sole exoriente supra Maeotis paludes / nemo est qui factis aequiparare queat* (of Scipio Africanus). This is translated by Warmington (*Remains of Old Latin* I [1935] 401) "From the rising of the sun above the marshes of Maeotis comes no one whose deeds could balance his"; but can that have been what Ennius intended to say? If *Varia* 23–24 formed, as is commonly supposed, part of the same epigram, then he must have meant that nobody in the *whole wide world* could challenge Africanus' pretensions: *si fas endo plagas caelestium ascendere cuiquam est, / mi soli caeli maxima porta patet*. I hesitate to guess that Cicero, who is our primary source for *Varia* 21–22 (*Tusc.* 5.49), or his copyists, have telescoped the epigram, and I do not know if this is what J. Humbert intends to suggest by his translation (Cicéron, *Tusculanes*, ed. G. Fohlen, coll. Budé 1931) "Du point où le soleil se lève bien au-delà du lac Maeotis <jusques à l'Occident>, il n'est personne qui puisse m'égaler par ses exploits." It is interesting that Mamertinus, *Genethl.* (*Paneg.* 11 Mynors) 16.3–5, (a) quotes the first verse in the form *a sole exoriente usque ad* [= Livineius: *adusque M*] *Maeotis paludes*; (b) appears, however, to interpret it as transmitted by Cicero in what follows: *etenim ab ipso solis ortu non modo circa Maeotim ac sub extrema septentrionis plaga . . . sed etiam sub ipso lucis occasu . . . ruunt omnes in sanguinem suum populi*, eqs. It will be noted that Mamertinus' expansion of the idea follows the usual "polar" pattern. The whole question is too uncertain to be allowed to have any bearing on the discussion of the Ovid passage: this can hardly be another case of *color Ennianus* (cf. below, pp. 187–191).

⁴⁰ Francius read *omni in Phrygia*; Terpstra kept *usquam* and read *in Phrygia*; Burman kept *usquam Phrygia* and explained *ab* as ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. This last is the solution favoured by Giomini, but for the reasons given above it will not do; furthermore in the ancient geography Phrygia is an eastern, not a western, country.

⁴¹ Cf. M. Sicherl, *Hermes* 91 (1963) 211–212.

elaborate periphrasis (cf. the Horatian passage quoted above). This complement need not of course have occupied more than a relatively small part of the missing couplet, which might largely have consisted of rhetorical embellishment of the ideas of east and west, beautiful women throughout the world, etc.

Of these alternatives I am inclined to favour the second, even though it is on the face of it the more elaborate, if only because it does not entail excising any of the transmitted text. But the grammatical status of the word *par* also has a bearing on the problem. Modern translators of the vulgate text (Showerman, Prévost, Ripert) construe *par* with *nomen*, and solution (i) would easily allow the same construction, whereas in solution (ii) *par* would be uncomfortably far from its awaited noun. However, it is interesting that H. T. Riley, by far the most consistently honest and accurate translator of Ovid known to me, took a somewhat different line in his Bohn Library version, rendering: "nor is there anywhere thy equal in Phrygia, nor has any other one among the beauteous, from the rising of the sun, an *equal* [Riley's italics] fame." There is a certain ambiguity about this, but it suggests the possibility of understanding *est* with *par*, perhaps even supplying it: π omits a necessary *est* at 16.45. Ovidian usage certainly allows *nomen habet* = "is famous" to be taken absolutely: cf. *Am.* 1.3.21, 2.17.28, 3.1.29, *A.A.* 3.536, *Rem.* 366, *al.*

In any case the *nec . . . nec* formulation here carries emphasis on the second *nec*: "all Phrygia cannot show your equal, no not throughout the wide world is there a beauty to compare with yours." Cf. *Am.* 3.6.37 *nec tanti Calydon nec tota Aetolia tanti*: Calydon is part of Aetolia and Phrygia is part of the world.

21.23-26 . . . iamque uenire uidet quos non admittere durum est,
excreat et ficta dat mihi signa nota.
sicut erant, properans uerba imperfecta relinquo,
et tegitur trepido littera cauta sinu.

24 tecta *Heinsius*: dicta *Burmannus*: pacta *Palmer* 26 coepta *Dilthey*

If *ficta* in line 24 needs correction, another possibility is *certa* = "agreed": cf. *Am.* 2.5.20 *uerbaque pro certis iussa ualere notis*. But *ficta* seems perfectly good. The nurse does not really clear her throat but feigns to do so: thus the *nota* may properly be called "feigned." For *fictus* = "lying" cf. *Met.* 13.9 *fictis contendere uerbis*, *Fasti* 6.508 *fictis insidiosa sonis*. However, at line 26 *cauta* clearly will not do, and emendation is required. Dilthey's *coepta* has held the field without competitors, but I am not sure that it is really apt. The sense needed is "unfinished"

rather than "begun." Admittedly, if Ovid is taking pains to sustain the dramatic illusion Cydippe's letter *is* at this point only just begun; but on the other hand lines 19–22 imply the passage of a long period of time, at the end of which the nurse runs out of plausible excuses for denying Cydippe to visitors. Though Ovid went to some trouble to adapt the story as he found it in Callimachus to the epistolary form,⁴² it is doubtful whether these considerations should be pressed here; it is probably safer to argue from the immediate context. This to me suggests that e.g. *rapta* "snatched up" would give better sense than *coepta*: cf. *A.A.* 3.240 *rapta bracchia figit acu*.

21.177–180 numquid in umbroso cum uelles fonte lauari
 imprudens uultus ad tua labra tuli
 praeteriue tuas de tot caelestibus aras
 atque mea est spreta nostra parente parens?

180 *sic* π :aque tua est nostra spreta parente parens *uulg.*

In line 179 editors have unnecessarily altered *-ue* to *-ne*. It seems more economical to keep *-ue* and to treat lines 177–180 as a single question dependent on *numquid* in line 177. In line 180 *atque* must in any case be emended,⁴³ and concinnity points to Bentley's *aue* rather than the vulgate *aque*, apparently due to Bersmann. The real problem resides in the rest of line 180. The vulgate version gives appropriate sense, but at considerable cost. (1) It entails some violence to the transmitted text. (2) It incorporates a totally un-Ovidian combination of hyperbaton and syntactical ambiguity. As to (1) it is well to remember that the text of this portion of π has been shown by Dörrie to lie at (probably) not more than one remove from a Carolingian copy.⁴⁴ Neither the postulated transposition nor the corruption of *tua* to *mea*, singly or in combination, is inconceivable, but if milder remedies will yield better and more Ovidian Latin we should do well to embrace them. As to (2) the case of *tuā* in the vulgate text is concealed by the aphaeresis, so that any ordinary reader would construe it as *tuā* after the preposition, only to be forced to unconstrue it again by the unambiguous *nostrā*. To put it in another way, the separation of *nostra* from its preposition by the misleading *tua* is, simply, bad writing. It is well known that Ovid affects hyperbaton, but we may confidently state that he could not have set a pointless syntactical trap — going out of his way to do so — by this device. That the vulgate has imposed on editors and readers for so long

⁴² See *Philologus* 111 (1967) 218, 223.

⁴³ Cf. above, n. 7.

⁴⁴ Dörrie (above, n. 27) 377–379.

is explained by Dörrie's researches: until his findings were made available the relationship of the vulgate reading, which is very old, to the transmitted text was virtually impenetrable.⁴⁵

Unambiguous syntax and perfect sense may be obtained by much slighter changes:

aue mea spreta est uestra parente parens.

The transposition of *est* is certainly no more drastic than the received transposition; and the confusion *ura* > *nra* is too common to require illustration. In this restoration *meā* is syntactically unambiguous. *uestra* means, of course, "yours and your brother's": Apollo has just been mentioned, pointedly, at lines 174-175.

21.243-244 cetera cura tua est. plus hoc quoque uirgine factum,
non timuit tecum quod mea charta loqui.

For the condensed expression in line 243 Palmer compared *Am.* 2.6.62 *ora fuere mihi plus aue docta loqui*; and equally apposite is *Met.* 11.337 *iam tum mihi currere uisus / plus homine est*. These expressions seem to be equivalent to: *ora plus docta fuere quam auis est* (= *quam auem decet*), *currere plus uisus est quam hominis est* (= *quam hominem decet*). If that is the syntactical pattern, i.e. if our present passage represents a condensed way of saying "plus factum est quam uirginis est," "I have done more than befits an unmarried girl," then *hoc* appears intrusive; at all events I cannot construe it myself. "Even this thing has been done more . . ."? The Parmensis elsewhere garbles monosyllables:⁴⁶ did Ovid write *hic* = "even in this matter," or *huc* = "even this far," or *iam* = "even now"? No more specific antecedent is needed for *quod* than the clause itself.

21.247-248 quid nisi cupio mihi iam contingere tecum
restat ut ascribas littera nostra. uale.

sic π

Here, as at 21.177-180, editorial proceedings have been motivated largely by ignorance of the essential facts. Thanks to Dörrie we now know what the transmitted text of these two verses is; and it turns out that only two slight changes are necessary to restore sense and metre. Both these changes were made long ago — they are in the first Aldine

⁴⁵ For instance, Palmer's note invites the inference that all the witnesses give *nostra spreta*; Giomini's apparatus offers somewhat different but almost equally misleading implications.

⁴⁶ 21.146 *hic*, 149 *ac*, 186 *sed*, 189 *haec*, 203, 204 *si*, 217 *ne*.

edition of 1502 — and are accepted by modern editors: the addition of *quod* after *nisi* in line 247 and the alteration of *ascribas* to *ascribat* in line 248. These changes, I say, and no more are needed to produce a satisfactory text; unfortunately a third correction is also found in the first Aldine, *coniungere* for *contingere*, and this completely gratuitous alteration has been universally accepted by subsequent editors in spite of the fact that it utterly stultifies all efforts at rational exegesis. *coniungere*, in this, the last couplet of her Epistle, represents an astounding *volte-face* in Cydippe: it discloses a latent unmaidenly eagerness to be married to Acontius,⁴⁷ an emotion which, however plausible in isolation, is totally out of keeping with the picture of his heroine that Ovid has been at some pains to build up throughout the poem.⁴⁸ (It may have been an instinctive revulsion from this inconsistency that led Bentley to condemn the distich; he was wrong, but his error may be more enlightening than the acquiescence of the other critics.) Ovid is here imparting a characteristic twist to a customary closing formula. *uale* is equivalent, as elsewhere, to *salutem accipe*: cf. 16.1–2 *hanc tibi Priamides mitto, Ledaëa, salutem, | quae tribui sola te mihi dante potest*; 19.1–2 *quam mihi misisti uerbis, Leandre, salutem* [cf. 18.1], *| ut possim missam rebus habere, ueni*. Cydippe hopes and expects that by finally yielding to Acontius' importunity she will recover the health (and beauty: cf. lines 213–222) that she has lost through resisting the will of Artemis: the health which she, formally, at the close of her letter, wishes her lover. *uale* is treated as a neuter substantive, as not infrequently: compare 13.14, *Tr.* 1.8.25–26, and in particular *Tr.* 3.3.87–88 *accipe supremo dictum mihi forsitan ore, | quod tibi qui mittit non habet ipse, VALE*.⁴⁹ The theme on which the couplet is a variation had already been suggested in Acontius' letter, 20.233–235 *iuncta salus nostra est: miserere meique tuique; | quid dubitas unam ferre duobus opem? | quod si contigerit* [n.b.], eqs. Read and interpret therefore:

quid, nisi, quod cupio mihi iam contingere tecum,
restat, ut ascribat littera nostra, VALE?⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Cf. Palmer's critical note "Innuere non aperte dicere, se iam matrimonium Acontii optare personae virginis magis conveniebat"; this, though I find the note not altogether easy to interpret, seems to be advanced as an argument in favour of Palmer's *nisi* <*si*> *cupias*; *contingere* is said to be "paullo fortius . . . quam Cydippam deceat," which makes it quite evident that Palmer did not understand it.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Philologus* 111 (1967) 223–229.

⁴⁹ Cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1019 ὄλοιο· καὶ σοι πολλάκις τόδ' ἠξέαμην.

⁵⁰ I have punctuated a trifle pedantically to bring out the hyperbaton, which

"Nothing is left except for my letter to add <the usual wish for> good health, which I desire will now be mine along with <my marriage to> you."

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is perfectly Ovidian: the "natural" order would be "quid restat, nisi ut ascribat littera nostra <id> uale, quod cupio tecum mihi iam contingere?"

Addenda

(n. 27) On *Her.* 5. 0a-b see now E.-A. Kirfel, *Untersuchungen zur Briefform der Heroiden Ovids* (Noctes Romanae 11, 1969) 54-58.

(n. 39) I have since stumbled across H. J. Rose's discussion of the Ennius passage at *HSCP* 47 (1936) 7: he classes it as an example of what he calls "the imperfect proportion" or "rhetorical enthymeme." On his classification of Prop. 3.24.7-8 see the cautious approval of D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (1956) 213-214.

OVID, *HEROIDES* 16.45-46

DIANA GOULD WHITE

illa sibi ingentem uisa est sub imagine somni
flammiiferam pleno reddere uentre facem.

THE dismembered asyndeton of *ingentem . . . flammiiferam . . . facem* in these lines has caused editors unease. Two emendations have been proposed. Bentley wrote *in partu* for *ingentem*, citing *Her.* 17.237-238:

fax quoque me terret, quam se peperisse cruentam
ante diem partus est tua uisa parens.

In partu is otiose. The circumstances of the dream are fully established in lines 42-43: what is wanted now is the dream's content. Further, Bentley's *in partu* involves a ludicrous exactitude, i.e., that the dream and Hecuba's labor are coincidental.

Arthur Palmer proposed to read *urgentis* for *ingentem*. Paleographical ease may commend the correction; but the parallels Palmer adduces show that *sopor* or *somnus* *urgens* is used of death, not normal sleep.¹ Palmer also notes that Nicholas Heinsius made the same emendation, changing *ingenti* to *urgenti* in a fragment of Calvus.² Heinsius' precedent does not help Palmer's cause, for the Calvus fragment's reference is uncertain.

In general, the range of possible emendations in this passage is so narrow as to encourage faith in the transmitted text. If there is cor-

Editors' Note: This article was accepted for publication before the appearance of "Ennian Influence in *Heroides* 16 and 17," by Howard Jacobson, *Phoenix* 22 (1968) 299-303.

¹ Virgil *Aen.* 12.309-310:

olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnus, in aeternum clauduntur lumina noctem.

Horace *C.* 1.24.5-6 (on the death of Quintilius Varus):

ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
urget.

² Fragment 11: *cum grauis ingenti coniuere pupula somno*, Lucian Mueller, *Catulli Tibulli Propertii Carmina* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner 1892). Mueller keeps *ingenti* and refers the fragment to Mercury's putting Argos to sleep.

ruption, it must be at *ingentem*. *Sub imagine somni* is a guaranteed Ovidian phrase, occurring at *Met.* 8.824 and 9.686. *Illa sibi uisa est* is the normal and expected expression for dreaming. And the line *flammiiferam . . . facem*, with its alliterative bracketing, has all the earmarks of a carefully constructed Ovidian pentameter. But what can be substituted for the offending *ingentem*?

The poem depends on sustained and delicately balanced irony. Paris thinks the *flammiifera fax* is his own passion for Helen; he is completely ignorant of the destruction it portends for his city. Therefore, the substitution for *ingentem* must be nothing that emphasizes too much Hecuba's forebodings and nothing that suggests that the *fax* is an ill or a misunderstood omen. Nothing in these lines must explicitly contradict Paris' interpretation. On the other hand, too colorless an expression or one that suggests that the dream is *not* ominous will disrupt the irony in the opposite direction. *Ingentem*, if that is what Ovid wrote, is ideally ambiguous.

Nonetheless, the objection to the asyndeton is a serious one and must be answered. It is true that the application of two epithets to one noun, without connective, is eschewed in the classical Latin authors.³ In cases where asyndeton of this type is permitted, the two adjectives are not generally equally adjectival in force. The categories into which acceptable asyndeta tend to fall are these:⁴

- 1) one epithet replaces a genitive noun:

Lucretius 1.258 *candens lacteus umor*

Virgil *Aen.* 2.542-543 *corpus exsangue . . . Hectoreum*

Asyndeton with adjectives formed from proper nouns is especially common.

- 2) one epithet is a participle which retains a strong verbal force:

Lucretius 4.212-213 *serena sidera . . . radiantia*

- 3) one epithet together with the noun constitutes a single idea:

Caesar *BC* 1.30.4 *naues longas ueteres*

- 4) one epithet denotes number:

Virgil *Aen.* 3.106 *centum urbes . . . magnas*

³ Leumann-Hoffmann-Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik*, II 831 δ on the rarity of asyndeta with separation; and Servius *ad Aen.* 2.392: *duo epitheta, quod apud Latinos uitium est. Fecit hoc tamen Vergilius in paucis uersibus*. Also *ad Aen.* 3.70, 6.552.

⁴ Based on a conflation of Munro's note to Lucretius 1.258 and Wagner's to *Aeneid* 5.24.

- 5) one epithet is understood so closely with the verb that it has an almost adverbial force:

Virgil *Aen.* 2.613-614 *furens a nauibus agmen / ferro accincta uocat.*

This variety occurs notably when the (participial) adjective has no common adverbial form.

The asyndeton at *Her.* 16.45-46 falls into none of these categories.

However, if classical Latin avoided asyndeton, archaic Latin was not so fastidious. A feature of magical, religious, and legal language, asyndeton was equally at home in the language of archaic poetry. Sebastiano Timpanaro has written, "La poesia latina ama il cumulo di sinonimi in asindeto anche separati da parole interposte."⁵ For an example of this fondness, compare Ribbeck, *trag. incert.* 73-75:

adsum atque aduenio Acherunte uix uia alta atque ardua
per speluncas saxis structis asperis pendentibus
maxumis, ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum.

Virgil's practice is also instructive, especially in the *Aeneid* with its influences from Ennius. Wagner at *Aen.* 5.24 notes that Virgil uses, in addition to the varieties of asyndeton discussed above, asyndeta *in descriptione* and especially in cases where there is *orationis δεινότης*.⁶ Of his examples, no fewer than five contain the word *ingens*.⁷ A reasonable conclusion is that the use of asyndeton in archaic Latin poetry continued in restricted form in Virgil's epic, especially when the writing was descriptive and elevated in tone. *Ingens* seems to be a signal, as it were, of just such a tone.

⁵ Sebastiano Timpanaro, review of O. Skutsch, "The Annals of Quintus Ennius," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954) 157.

⁶ Wagner at *Aen.* 5.24: *Georgics* 1.407, 3.7, 3.146-151; *Aeneid* 2.622-623, 3.383, 3.618-619, 3.655-658, 5.306, 6.282-283, 7.170, 7.624-625, 7.785-786, 8.243-246, 12.887-888.

⁷ *Aen.* 3.618-619: . . . domus sanie dapibusque cruentis,
intus opaca, ingens . . .

Aen. 3.655ff: uix ea fatus erat summo cum monte uidemus
ipsum inter pecudes uasta se mole mouentem
pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem
monstrum horrendum informe ingens cui lumen ademptum.

Aen. 6.282-283: in medio ramos annosaeque brachia pandit
ulmus opaca ingens . . .

Aen. 7.170: tectum augustum ingens centum sublime columnis

Aen. 12.887-888: Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscatur
ingens arboreum et saeuo sic pectore fatur . . .

It is worth noting in passing that the poet of the *Aetna* is also fond of asyndeton of the two epithets to one noun variety.⁸

Finally, a passage in Lucan's *Bellum ciuile* (1.185ff) further strengthens faith in the Ovid text. It exhibits elevation of tone, the use of *ingens*, asyndeton with separation of the members, and a situation much like Hecuba's dream:

ingens uisa duci patriae trepidantis imago
clara per obscuram uoltu maestissima noctem
turrigero canos effundens uertice crines
caesarie lacera nudisque adstare lacertis
et gemitu permixta loqui . . .

If these parallels be accepted in defense of the transmitted text, there is but one final question. Why does Ovid use just here a device that belongs — in vocabulary, word order, and syntax — to the realm of archaic and epic poetry?⁹ The answer is to be found in the fact that Ennius' *Alexander* underlies *Her.* 16.

The outlines of the story of Hecuba's dream and waking are very close in Ovid and in *Alex.* 57-68 (Vahlen):

. . . mater grauida parere se ardentem facem
uisa est in somnis Hecuba; quo facto pater
rex ipse Priamus somnio mentis metu
perculsus curis sumptus suspirantibus
exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus.
tum coniecturam postulat pacem petens
ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem
quo sese uertant tantae sortes somnium.
ibi ex oraclo uoce diuina edidit
Apollo puerum primus Priamo qui foret
postilla natus temperaret tollere:
eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.

If, as Scaliger argued, there is a lacuna before *Her.* 16.51, in which Paris' exposure and life with the shepherds were described, the poem and the Ennian play have further similarities.

Her. 16.123-124 echoes, in the form of a vivid question, what Cassandra had prophesied in Ennius (*Alex.* 63-68 Vahlen):

⁸ Richard Hildebrandt, "Die Ueberlieferung der *Aetna*," *Philologus* 56 (1897) 100.

⁹ That asyndeton of two epithets and a noun suggests either Latin archaic poetry or the Homeric epic is the conclusion of W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, p. 275 n. 61.

adest, adest fax obuoluta sanguine atque incendio,
 multos annos latuit, ciues, ferte opem et restinguite.
 iamque mari magno classis cita
 texitur, exitium examen rapit;
 adueniet, fera ueliuolantibus
 nauibus complebit manus litora.

If there remain any doubts about Ovid's debt to Ennius, the word *flammiifera* is an explicit acknowledgment of it. It is an Ennian coinage (*Alcmeo* 29 Vahlen): *fer mi auxilium, pestem abige a me, flammiferam hanc uim quae me excruciat*. The word's next appearance in surviving Latin literature is in this passage of Ovid. Later it is also used by Silius Italicus and Valerius Flaccus.

The conclusion seems inevitable, in view of the associations inherent in *Her.* 16.45-46 and the *color Ennianus* in the particular passage and in the poem as a whole, that the text is sound. It is to be regarded as a piece of deliberately archaistic writing, in the grand style, an imitation of and compliment to *Ennius noster*.¹⁰

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¹⁰ Independent confirmation of such imitation may be had from H. D. Jocelyn, *Tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge University Press 1967) 223. Jocelyn notes that Ovid's syntax at *Her.* 17.237-238

fax quoque me terret quam se peperisse cruentam
 ante diem partus est tua uisa parens

reproduces the Ennian *parere se . . . uisa est*, where the normal construction would be *sibi uisa est parere*.

TWO NOTES ON THE *HEROIDES*

ELIZABETH FISHER

I. *Heroides* 7.97-98

THE problem of apocryphal lines confronts the critic at *Heroides* 7.97-98, which appears in PEG ω as:

exige, laese pudor, poenas, uiolate Sychae†
ad quas, me miseram, plena pudoris eo.

97 uiolate pEG ω : uiolata E¹ : uiolente ut uid. P Sicheu pE ω : Sichei(y)
G^s : Siceo ut uid. P

A dozen late manuscripts offer a slightly altered and expanded version:

exige, laese pudor, poenas, uiolataque lecti
97a iura nec ad cineres fama retenta meos
97b uosque mei manes animaeque cinisque sichei
ad quas, me miseram, plena pudoris eo.

Critics have encountered real difficulties in seeking a sensible interpretation of the "minimum text" preserved by the more authoritative manuscript tradition. Although some of their objections to these lines may be answered, a close examination of the text reveals a basic estrangement of sense and syntax in the shorter version.

The variants *uiolata* and *uiolente* may be dismissed immediately from line 97 in favor of the only sensible reading, *uiolate*. We may also defend in passing the manuscripts' unanimous *ad quas* (line 98) against *ad quem*, the emendation supported by Burman, Van Lennep, and Bersmann. *Ad quas* (i.e., *poenas*) . . . *eo* is supported by several passages in Ovid combining *eo* with *ad* and a noun specifying an activity that will involve the subject:

occidet, ad Circi siquis certamina semper
non intermissis cursibus ibit equus (E.P. 1.4.16)
. . . ite, manus, ad pia sacra, meae (T. 5.5.2)
. . . ad solitum rusticus ibit opus (F. 4.168).

Finally, the use of *pudor* in two different senses within this one couplet, a sort of wordplay deemed un-Ovidian by Sedlmayer and Sicherl, can

be paralleled. A word may shift between two meanings in consecutive lines of Ovid's poetry. Sometimes the shift seems accidental: *et quotiens uideo, lumina nostra madent. / per superos oro, per auitae lumina flammae* (*Her.* 12.190-191). But that Ovid would indulge in a deliberate word-play of this sort seems at least possible in the light of *E.P.* 4.1.21-23:

et leuis haec meritis referatur gratia tantis:
si minus, inuito te quoque gratus ero.
numquam pigra fuit nostris tua gratia rebus . . .

The logical and syntactic relationship of *Sychaeus* to the rest of line 97 remains the basic problem in the "minimum text" of PEG ω . The garbled forms preserved by the manuscripts offer a choice of any oblique case of *Sychaeus* except the accusative. This word was doubly vulnerable, first because its position at the end of the line made it easily subject to physical damage, and also because its character as a rather exotic proper name made it a ready target for scribal error. Thus, from the forms of *Sychaeus* as used by the Augustan poets,¹ a choice must be made, based on the sense and syntax of the whole line.

If the genitive *Sychaei* is to stand here,² it must be construed either with the vocative *laese pudor . . . uiolate* or with *poenas*. Ovid uses *poenas* with a genitive denoting the recipient of punishment, the nature of the punishment, or, most commonly, the action meriting punishment.³ *Sychaei* cannot logically be construed with *poenas* in any of these senses. *Sychaei* with *pudor* is no easier. Shuckburgh differentiates three senses of *pudor*: "chastity," "feeling of shame," and "disgrace." Although each of these is sometimes amplified by a possessive, none can sensibly be applied to *laese pudor . . . uiolate* with the genitive of *Sychaeus*. *Sychaei*, inappropriate with either *poenas* or *pudor*, cannot stand in this line.

If *uiolate Sychaeo*⁴ is to be read here, the dative must be explained as a "dative of disadvantage." In a definitive article on this construction,⁵ Gustav Landgraf states (p. 46), "Der Dativ sagt nur, dass eine Person (bzw. Sache) an einer Handlung beteiligt sei, ob zu ihrem Vorteile oder Nachteile, ist in der grammatischen Form nicht ausgesprochen,

¹ Nom. *Sychaeus*: *Aen.* 6.474, 1.343; *Her.* 7.99. Gen. *Sychaei*: *Her.* 7.193; *Aen.* 4.20, 502, 632. Dat. *Sychaeo*: *Aen.* 4.552. Acc. *Sychaeum*: *Aen.* 1.348.

² As Loers, Ehwald, and Showerman prefer.

³ Recipient: *T.* 3.14.10. Nature: *M.* 9.22, 10.234. Action: *M.* 2.833, *Her.* 7.58, 20.51, *M.* 8.772, 10.303, *E.P.* 3.5.46.

⁴ Read by Heinsius, Naugerus, Burman, Van Lennep, Jahn, Terpstra.

⁵ G. Landgraf, "Der Dativus Commodi u. der Dativus finalis mit ihren Abarten," *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie* 8 (1893) 39-76.

sondern ergibt sich nur aus dem Zusammenhange." On the basis of this definition it is tempting to interpret *laese pudor . . . uiolate Sychaeo* rather loosely, as "chastity, offended and violated as regards my relationship with Sychaeus." However, of the examples from Augustan poetry that Landgraf cites to illustrate the "dative of disadvantage" (p. 48), only one seems relevant: *diruta sunt aliis* (zum Nutzen), *uni mihi* (zum Schaden) *Pergama restant* (Ov. *Her.* 1.51). Landgraf's example justifies translating our phrase as "chastity, offended and violated from Sychaeus' point of view," but it cannot support the freer translation suggested above. In its only acceptable sense, then, *laese pudor . . . uiolate Sychaeo* implies a distinction between the viewpoint of Sychaeus and that of everyone else regarding Dido's *uiolate pudor*. The suggestion that Dido is attempting to sooth her guilty conscience by self-justification is completely contradictory to her elaborate self-recrimination in this couplet and in the entire passage.

It is possible to replace the unsatisfactory dative with a vocative and read *uiolate Sychaeae*.⁶ However, the resulting asyndeton of the vocatives *pudor* and *Sychaeae* is uncomfortable. Kühner-Stegmann's observation that asyndeton is most frequent between synonyms and is a mark of colloquial or archaic Latin may justify its occurrence here,⁷ but it is still unclear why Ovid would wish to create a colloquial or archaic effect in this part of Dido's letter.

Left without any completely satisfactory reading for *uiolate Sychae*†, we may obelize⁸ or emend. The latter course has been followed with success by Merkel,⁹ who reads *umbraeque Sychaei*. At *F.* 6.491, *umbrae* is similarly applied to a single deceased person: *maesta Learchaeas mater tumulauerat umbras*. If supplied here, *umbraeque* becomes the logical antecedent of *ad quas*. The construction *ad quas (umbras) . . . eo* is paralleled by *T.* 1.9.31: *quod pius ad Manes Theseus comes iret amico*. Finally, Birt has ingeniously described the process of corruption from *umbrae* to *uiolate*.¹⁰ If, then, 97-98 must stand alone, the emended form with *umbraeque Sychaei* best conforms to the demands of logic and Latinity.

⁶ With Bornecque and Planudes.

⁷ Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, I 149.

⁸ With Sedlmayer and Palmer.

⁹ Followed by Riese and Shuckburgh.

¹⁰ Birt postulates that *uiolatae* was first supplied as a gloss to the noun (suggested by *laese* with *pudor*) and eventually fell into the text (*GGA* 2 [1882] 856). Birt's *taedae* cannot be considered as an alternative for *umbrae*: with a genitive as here, *taedae* must mean "wedding torches" in Ovid. See *nec uiduae taedis eadem nec uirginis apta | tempora* (*F.* 5.487) and *perque suum Meropisque caput taedasque sororum* (*M.* 1.763).

But what of 97a/b? These lines need special attention, first because of the necessity of emending the text if it is to stand without them, and second because of the unique way in which they are joined onto 97-98. Dörrie's list of interpolated material in the *Heroides* includes no lines grafted into the preceding text as 97a/b are.¹¹ Housman provides a cogent explanation for the loss of these lines;¹² he postulates that the scribe's eye skipped from the *-que* of *uiolataque lecti* in 97 to the *-que* of *cinisque sichaei* in 97b and that the unmetrical line thus produced was altered into the form which PEG ω now preserve. (E¹'s *uiolata* represents a stage in this adjustment.) Bentley and Sicherl share Housman's opinion that 97a/b are in fact genuine; those who dismiss the lines as spurious apparently do so only on the basis of manuscript authority, shaky grounds indeed in this heavily contaminated tradition. Dörrie alone attacks the lines on the basis of their Latinity, which he finds faulty only in 97b and 98. His objections must be met, then, a task largely accomplished by Sicherl.¹³

Dörrie pronounces 97 and 97a "ganz gewiss echt," mentioning with special admiration the trio of abstracts in direct address, each amplified by a participle denoting betrayal and varied by the concluding *nec*. He approves line 97b because of the smooth conjunction with the preceding line provided by *uosque* and because of the artful bracketing of the phrase *manes animaeque cinisque* with its modifying *mei . . . Sychaei*. The lines come under censure, however, because of *cinis* and *animae* as applied to Sychaeus. Dörrie feels that the application of *cinis* to Sychaeus immediately after Dido has mentioned her own *cineres* in 97a is unacceptable. Sicherl counters with the observation that polyptoton is frequent in Ovid, as exemplified in *M.* 8.539. The following passages are perhaps more relevant to Dörrie's objection than an instance of polyptoton:

ut nemus intrauit letataque corpora uidit
uictoremque supra spatiosi corporis hostem (*M.* 3.55)

nullus adhuc erat usus equi, se quisque ferebat
ibat ouis lana corpus amicta sua
sub Ioue durabant et corpora nuda gerebant
docta graues imbres et tolerare Notos (*F.* 2.297-300).

¹¹ H. Dörrie, "Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte von Ovids Epistulae Heroidum," *NAkG*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1960), no. 5, pp. 189-206.

¹² A. E. Housman, "Ovid's *Heroides*," *CR* 11 (1897) 201.

¹³ M. Sicherl, "Vermeintliche Versinterpolationen in Ovids *Heroiden*," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 190f.

His protestation that *animae* is never used classically as "life-force," which he considers a medieval sense of the word, prompts Sicherl to cite four passages contradicting him.¹⁴ Dörrie's assertion that 97b offers attractive and stylish features stands, then, but his objections to the line have been answered.

Dörrie expels 98 from the text on several counts. First, he objects to *me miseram* as mere "filler syllables" inappropriate to Dido's character. Sicherl rejoins that Dido betrays self-pity, a characteristic emotion of Ovid's heroines, at lines 7, 185ff, and 111ff. He further cites lines 167-168 as an instance of lugubrious self-humiliation. *Me miseram*, then, does not convey a sentiment inappropriate to Ovid's portrayal of Dido. Is it, however, a dull phrase unworthy of Ovid's poetic skill? Sicherl's numerous examples¹⁵ indicate that, however flat the phrase may seem, it is definitely Ovidian. Dörrie also complains that 98 foretells the content of 99-104 and spoils the dramatic impact of these lines. Sicherl answers that 98 prepares for the following narration by stating Dido's death wish and by introducing a passage arranged in ring composition. Dörrie also objects to *plena pudoris*, partly because he reads at line 104 *amisso pudore meo* with EG5, against Pw's *amissi pudore mei*. On the basis of this reading he claims that *pudor* in the sense of "shame" is incongruous at 98, because it is used twice — at 97 and at 104 — to mean "chastity," an echo of its sense at *Aen.* 4.322. However, it is clear from the instances of wordplay cited above that the change in meaning would not offend Ovid. In answer to Dörrie's complaint that shame is an emotion inappropriate to Dido, we may suggest with Sicherl that part of Dido's dread punishment is to face Sychaeus *plena pudoris* after death.

Finally, Dörrie protests that *ad quas* (98) has no proper antecedent in 97b. Sicherl's attempt to read *ad quem* with *Sychaei* above does not explain the presence of the more difficult *quas* in the text. Admittedly, *ad quas* places needless emphasis upon *animae*, the only possible feminine antecedent among the three vocatives of 97b. I suggest *quae* as an alternative to *quas*, an emendation which, so far as I can discover, has not previously been suggested. *Quae* would normally be used to refer to a group of antecedents of mixed gender such as *manes, animaeque, cinisque*¹⁶ and can easily be envisioned as the source of the corruption *ad quas*, which could have been altered from *ad quae* to agree with *poenas* after 97a/b were lost. I prefer this minor adjustment to Bentley's

¹⁴ Ov. *M.* 8.488, Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.28, Virg. *Aen.* 5.80, Sil. Ital. 13.395.

¹⁵ *Her.* 5.149, 15.204, 19.65, 19.121, 19.187, 20.133. See esp. *Her.* 17.182.

¹⁶ Kühner-Stegmann (above, n. 7) I 57-58.

and Housman's *umbraeque* for *cinisque*: Housman's explanation that *umbraeque* could fall out after *animaque* seems weak. Also, as Sicherl observes, *cinisque* recalls *Aen.* 4.552, *non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*, and is similarly joined with *manes* at *Aen.* 4.34 and 4.427.

Lines 97a/b and their significant coupling with 97 are therefore genuine. After the adjustment of *quas* to *quae* in line 98, these apocryphal lines should be accepted into the text in the form preserved by ζ .

II. *Heroides* 21.227-236

Text of π

- 227 Sed tamen aspiceres uellem prout ipse rogabas
et discas sponsae languida membra tuae.
Durius ut ferro cum sim tibi pectus, Aconti
230 tu ueniam nostris uocibus ipse petas.
Ne tamen ignores, ope qua reualescere possim
quaeritur a delphis fata canente deo.
Et quoque nescio quantum nunc uaga fama susurat
neglectam queritur testis habere fidem.
235 Hoc deus et uates, hoc et mea carmina dicunt,
at desunt uoto carmina nulla tuo.

227 prout π : quod et *Heinsius* : uelut *Francius*. aspiceres uellem π : aspicias uellem *Bentley* : aspicias uelim *Palmer*. 228 et discas π : aspiceres *Ehwald* : aspicias *Bentley* : et legeres *Fisher*. 229 ut cum sim π : ut . . . iam sit *D. Heinsius* : et . . . cum sit *N. Heinsius* : et . . . nisi si *Bentley*. 232 quaeritur π : quaesitum *Medenbach Wakker*. 233 et π : is *vulgate*. nescio quantum nunc π : nescio quam nunc ut *vulgate*. nescio quam : nescio quem *Fisher*. nunc ut uaga fama susurrat : nunc it uaga fama, sororis *Wakker*. 234 testis π : vocis *Bentley*. habere π : abire *Heusinger*. testis habere fidem π : teste sorore fidem *Ouwens*. 235 hoc deus et uates, hoc et π : hoc deus, hoc uates, hoc *Bentley* : et deus hoc uates, hoc et *Burman*. et mea carmina π : et mihi carmina *Burman* : edita carmina *Bentley*. 236 at π : an *Van Lennepe* : ac *Loers* : ah *Crispinus*.

It is predictable that the text of *Heroides* 21.227-236 should be in poor condition, for manuscripts are especially vulnerable to physical damage at the beginning and end of a book. After first restoring this disturbed section of the text to the best condition possible, we must consider the overall coherence of the passage and the possibility that our single witness, π (editio Parmensis, 1477), may not preserve all the lines that Ovid originally wrote. The text of each couplet to be discussed is given in the form which I propose to restore

- 227-228 Sed tamen aspiceres uellem, uelut ipse rogabas
et legeres sponsae languida membra tuae.

π 's *prout*, accepted by most editors,¹⁷ is a problem in poetic diction. *Prout* is clearly a prosaic word, for it occurs only twice in all Latin poetry: Horace *Satires* 2.6.67 and Ausonius *Mosella* 372. The word is decidedly inappropriate to Ovid's stylish poetic diction and must be emended. Bentley's¹⁸ *quod et* represents acceptable usage,¹⁹ but the process of corruption that would transform an original *quod et* into π 's *prout* is difficult to imagine. Scribal misreading may be offered as an explanation, but it is not compelling. Francius suggested *uelut*, which could have been glossed with its prose synonym *prout* and eventually displaced by it.²⁰ An explanatory gloss supplied with *uelut* as it is used here is entirely plausible, since *uelut* occurs in this sense only three times in the Ovidian corpus.²¹ Supported by these arguments, we may expel the prosaic pretender *prout* and restore Francius' *uelut* to its rightful place in the text.

The subjunctive verbs *aspiceres . . . et discas* depending upon *uellem* in line 227 have prompted great critical discussion and several emendations because of their surprising variation in tense. Neither π 's *discas* nor Bentley's *aspicias* is acceptable with *uellem* according to Ovidian usage. An examination of the instances of *uellem* in Ovid's work reveals that it may be complemented by a subjunctive verb only in a secondary tense; *uelim*, on the other hand, may be followed by a subjunctive verb only in a primary tense. Palmer is thus correct in noting the "better Latin" of *aspicias uelim*, even though the scansion *uēlim* is impossible. The original form of this couplet must have had an imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive, then, in place of π 's *et discas*. Ehwald's *aspiceres* meets this minimum requirement for an improved reading, but it is a tiresome reiteration betraying a definitely un-Ovidian paucity of vocabulary. In fact, *aspiceres* here more resembles a plausible corruption than a promising emendation. A clue for a better emendation may be taken from the striking locution *discas . . . languida membra*. This use of *discas* is paralleled by a famous line from the *Aeneid* (6.755): *aduersos legere et uenientum discere uoltus*, cited by Palmer from Ruhnken. The original form of line 228 may have been *et legeres sponsae languida membra tuae*. A scribe, noticing the unusual sense of *legeres*, may have glossed it with *disceres* drawn from the

¹⁷ Burman, Van Lennep, Jahn, Terpstra, Loers, Palmer.

¹⁸ Followed by Ehwald and Showerman.

¹⁹ *T.* 1.2.101; emphatic *et* also at *M.* 9.178.

²⁰ For more examples of explanatory glosses substituted into a text, see L. Havet, *Manuel de critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins* (Paris 1911) 273.

²¹ *F.* 1.263, *E.P.* 2.8.13, *Her.* 18.13; fourteen times equivalent to "as if," four times qualifying a metaphor, three times coordinated with *sic*.

Aeneid passage. A later copyist may have misinterpreted this gloss (as well as *prout* above) and expelled *legeres* from the text in favor of its unmetrical gloss *disceres*. *Disceres* could have been adjusted later into the metrical but uncomfortable present subjunctive form preserved in π .

If *legeres* is to be read here, it is admittedly an odd sense of the word, which Ovid generally uses to mean "collect" or "read." To the Virgilian precedent for *legere* in the sense of "examine intensely" one parallel may be added from Ovid's works: *haeret et ante oculos ueluti spectabile corpus / astat fortunae forma legenda meae* (T. 3.8.35-36). Therefore, on the basis of this later parallel, *legeres* seems a desirable and rather vindictive intensification of *aspiceres* in the line above; a modern Cydippe's equivalent expression might be, "I'd like you to look and look carefully at your poor, emaciated, fiancée."

229-230 Durius et ferro cum sit tibi pectus, Aconti,
tu ueniam nostris uocibus ipse petas

Daniel Heinsius first read *sit* for π 's corrupt *sim* in line 229. The corruption is readily explained: after the *t* of *sit* dropped out before *tibi*, the remaining *si* could easily have been taken for an abbreviated *sim*. It is not so easy to envision π 's *cum* as the source of Heinsius' *iam*, however. His conjecture encounters further difficulties in the examples of *ut iam* cited to support the construction here. These examples suggest that the two words may not be separated as they are in *ut ferro iam sit*.²²

Nicolas Heinsius' *et . . . cum sit*, the reading accepted by most editors,²³ is more attractive. π 's *ut* may be explained as a simple misreading for *et*, which resumes the thought from the preceding couplet, as does the similarly delayed *et* in line 225 of this epistle. The postponement of the conjunction *cum* to a position within the subordinate clause is rather surprising, but a parallel comes readily to hand: *nunc oculos tua cum uiolarit epistula nostros / non rescribendi gloria uisa leuis* (Her. 17.1-2). Finally, the *si sit* cited from Bersmann's marginalia by Burman may be a note intended to illuminate *cum sit*. Bentley's *nisi si* cannot challenge the quality of Nicolas Heinsius' reading; for the absence of a verb is uncomfortable, and the conjecture difficult to relate to π 's text.

The attempt of Medenbach Wakker to read *quaesitum* for π 's *quaeritur* in line 232 may be noted in passing.²⁴ The perfect form

²² A. Ep. 3, A. 3.4.5, A.A. 1.346, A.A. 3.89, E.P. 4.8.5.

²³ Burman, Heusinger, Terpstra, Ehwald, Palmer, Showerman, Bornecque, Dörrie.

²⁴ Medenbach Wakker, *Amoenitates litterariae*, c. 13, p. 117, cited from Van Lennep.

clarifies the chronology of the passage, but this use of *quaesitum est* with a clause as subject is paralleled in the work of Ovid by only one passage,²⁵ where the auxiliary verb is not omitted. Instead of introducing a syntactic anomaly into an already unusual expression, we should accept π's *quaeritur*, which is supported by a single but exact parallel: *quaeritur interea quis tantae pondera molis / sustineat tantoque queat succedere regi* (*M.* 15.1).

233-234 Is quoque nescio quem, nunc ut uaga fama susurrat,
neglectam queritur uocis habere fidem

Emendation of the obviously corrupt text of π is aided by the fact that the sense of these lines should not contradict basic elements of the myth. Callimachus and Aristaenetus, the other classical sources for the tale, both mention Apollo's oracle regarding Cydippe's illness, which is attributed by both authors to the wrath of Diana resulting from Cydippe's failure to fulfill her vow to marry Acontius:

Ἀρτέμιδος τῇ παιδί γάμον βαρὺς ὄρκος ἐνικλᾷ . . .
Δήλω δ' ἦν ἐπίδημος, Ἀκόντιον ὁππότε σὴ παῖς
ᾤμοσεν, οὐκ ἄλλον, νυμφίον ἐξέμεναι.
ὦ Κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ἦν με θέλῃς συμφράδμονα θέσθαι,
..]ν[. .] τελευτήσεις ὄρκια θυγατέρος.

Callim. *Aet.* frag. 75.22-29

Ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων πάντα σαφῶς τὸν πατέρα διδάσκει, τὸν νέον, τὸ μῆλον,
τὸν ὄρκον, καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν θυμόν· καὶ παραινεῖ θάπτον εὐόρκον
ἀποφῆναι τὴν κόρην.

Aristaenetus 1.10

Several passages in Epistles 20 and 21 agree with the information given by the oracle in these accounts: Diana is represented as the witness of Cydippe's vow²⁶ and as the vengeful cause of her illness.²⁷ Presumably, then, Ovid accepted the myth as it was known to the other two authors and related the contents of the oracle of Apollo in a form consistent with that tradition. The correct reading of this corrupt passage must therefore agree in sense with the relevant elements of the myth as revealed in its treatment by Callimachus, Aristaenetus, and Ovid himself.

We may begin by adjusting π's *et quoque* to the vulgate reading *is quoque*. The pronoun *is* picks up the preceding *canente deo* as the subject

²⁵ *A.* 3.8.20.

²⁶ *Her.* 20.5, 17-20, 97-98, 160, 211-212; *Her.* 21.105, 133-134, 223-224.

²⁷ *Her.* 20.107-114, 179-180; *Her.* 21.153-154, 174-182.

of *queritur* in line 234; *quoque* reinforces *is* because the content of Apollo's complaint will repeat Acontius' assertion that Cydippe is ill because she has not fulfilled her vow to marry him.²⁸ Perhaps the corruption occurred through the obliteration of *is* in its vulnerable position at the beginning of a line and the subsequent insertion of the neutral but redundant *et*.

An emendation as widely accepted as *is* for *et* is *quam nunc ut* for π 's impossible *quantum nunc*. The subordination of *uaga fama susurrat* provided by *ut* clarifies the structure of the sentence considerably; the corruption may have arisen through the loss of *ut* before *uaga* and a subsequent metrical adjustment of *quam* to *quantum*, mistakes perhaps expedited by abbreviations sometimes used for these words.²⁹

The couplet is now grammatically sound, but before attempting to translate it we must examine the phrase *neglectam habere fidem*. The elements both of the idiom *habere fidem* and of the idiomatic construction *habere* with the perfect participle as a periphrasis for the perfect appear. The sentence cannot, however, accommodate the force of both idioms without becoming awkward, complex, and therefore inconsistent with Ovid's meticulous and skillful poetic practice. The periphrasis *habere neglectam fidem* for *neglexisse fidem* may be accepted as Ovidian usage on the basis of several examples³⁰ cited in Thielmann's definitive article.³¹ In this equation of *habere neglectam fidem* with *neglexisse fidem*, the idiomatic sense of *habere fidem* is irrelevant to the interpretation of the line; the rather striking combination *neglego* and *fidem* has a parallel from archaic poetry supplied by Burman: *cuius ipse princeps iuris iurandi fuit, / quod omnes scitis, solus neglexit fidem* (Cic. Off. 3.26). *Neglectam habere fidem* may thus be translated as "neglect a promise," and the whole sentence may be rendered "(Apollo) also as witness complains that (he) has neglected some promise" (*se* understood as the subject of *habere*). This is nonsense in the context of the mythical situation; Loers's suggestion that *testis* be construed as a genitive with *fidem* contributes nothing. Further emendation of the couplet is necessary. I should like to propose that these lines may be improved by altering the adjective *nescio quam* to the pronoun *nescio quem*, an emendation which, to my knowledge, has not been suggested previously. The adjective *nescio quam* must be construed with *fidem*, but the pronoun

²⁸ *Her.* 20.107-114, 179-180.

²⁹ Perhaps \bar{u} or u^i for *ut*, \tilde{q} or q for *quam*.

³⁰ *Her.* 8.103, 13.66, 17.8; *F.* 3.50, 6.600; *M.* 2.641.

³¹ P. Thielmann, "*Habere* mit dem Part. Perf. Pass.," *Archiv für lat. Lexikographie* 2 (1885) 372f.

nescio quem may serve as the subject of *habere neglectam fidem*.³² We may translate the lines as: "(Apollo) also as witness complains that someone has neglected a promise," which approaches the idea of a broken vow contained in the oracle of Callimachus and Aristaenetus. *Nescio quem* is also a properly vague oracular pronoun; it occurs at *Her.* 13.93: *sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo*. The corruption of *quem* to *quam* may be the product of scribal misreading or inattention.

Callimachus, Aristaenetus, and Ovid himself, however, identify Diana as the offended *testis* of Cydippe's vow. To style Apollo as *testis* is intolerable in the context of this epistle: the word must be emended. Bentley offers *uocis* here, citing *Her.* 21.141: *sed si nil dedimus praeter sine pectore uocem / uerba suis frustra uiribus orba tenes*. The word *uocis* thus assumes a double meaning in this passage; it refers not only to Cydippe's vow but also to her own rather precious definition of that vow as a mere *uox*. This subtle wordplay is a nice touch, consistent with Ovid's polished poetic style. The phrase *uocis fidem* is paralleled by *F.* 1.642, *Furius antiquam populi superator Etrusci / uouerat et uoti soluerat ille fidem*, where *fidem* also is modified by a genitive denoting the vow. A final translation of the couplet might be "(Apollo) also complains that someone has neglected the promise of a vow," an oracular response entirely appropriate to the mythical situation.

One can only guess at the process that might have transformed an original *uocis* to *testis*. I suggest that the corruption may have resulted from the efforts of a scribe desiring to illuminate what he supposed to be the construction of this line. Encountering *habere fidem* at its close, he may have regarded the distant *neglectam* as an elaboration of the familiar idiom and supplied a line which both offers *habere fidem* embellished with an adjective formed from a participle and parallels the arrangement of *Her.* 21.234: *ratam debet testis habere fidem* (*T.* 3.10.36). *Testis* may have displaced *uocis* through the error of a later copyist who misread or misinterpreted the parallel passage.

Emendations suggested by others cannot approach the quality of Bentley's *uocis*. Heusinger's *abire* for *habere* is neither striking nor useful; Ouwens' *teste sorore fidem* may be paleographically possible, but it is an uninteresting reading without the stylish flair of Bentley's *uocis*. Wakker's *nunc it uaga fama, sororis*, departs radically from the text of π to present a colorless alternative and also offends by preserving *testis*.

³² The forms of *nescio qui, quae, quod* are invariably used as adjectives by Ovid except (1) *nescio qua*, "in some way" (*Her.* 20.209, *Ib.* 423), which is derived from the adverb *qua*, "in what way," as distinguished from the adverb *quo*, "wherefore, to what end"; and (2) *M.* 9.492, which should perhaps be emended.

All the more reason, then, to accept Bentley's *uocis* as by far the best reading here, and, after the alteration of *nescio quam* to *nescio quem*, to admit it into the text.

The text of π deserves defense at line 235, where Bentley altered *et mea carmina* to *edita carmina* and Burman suggested *mihi* for *mea*. Burman's *mihi* may be dismissed: it must be construed with *dicunt*, leaving *carmina* — which is somewhat unclear even with *mea* — completely ambiguous. *Edita carmina* is undesirable because *edo* is confined to the sense "published" in the few late instances where it is applied to a literary work by Ovid.³³ According to Ovidian usage, π 's *mea carmina* must be interpreted as "verses I have written."³⁴ In the context of this epistle Purser is correct in identifying *mea carmina* as a reference to Cydippe's own letter. π 's text must also be supported against Bentley's³⁵ attempt to emend *hoc deus et uates*, *hoc et* to *hoc deus*, *hoc uates hoc . . .* Bentley's alteration separates *deus* from *uates* too emphatically; for *uates* is a favored Ovidian word for "poet" unless the meaning "seer" is specified by context. Bentley's reading removes *uates* from the influence of *deus* and suggests, by its juxtaposition with *mea carmina*, that some mysterious poets are here referred to. In contrast, π 's reading identifies Apollo as the *uates*, an interpretation of the line advanced by Van Lennep and supported by *et matri et uati paret Nonacrius heros* (*F.* 5.97).³⁶ That *uates* may be properly applied to a god is clear from *M.* 9.24 and *F.* 1.391, where Proteus is referred to as *uates*, and from *Aen.* 6.11–12: *magnam cui mentem animumque / Delius inspirat uates aperitque futura*. The search for the identity of the *uates*, initiated by Burman and Palmer, may be abandoned, and line 235 may be interpreted, "The soothsayer god says this (i.e., that the neglect of my vow to marry you must be corrected) and so does this letter of mine."

Finally, π 's *at* opening line 236 has been variously and needlessly emended by critics. Loers's paleographically attractive *ac* must be disqualified because the word is confined to the *Metamorphoses* in all but nine instances, none of them in the *Heroides*. Of these nine occurrences, all but one (*F.* 4.377) are coordinated with *simul* or *ueluti*; perhaps in that one case emendation is in order. Van Lennep and Terpstra read *an* for *at*, with no appreciable benefit to the sense of the text. *Ah!* is a

³³ *T.* 1.7.38–39, 2.541.

³⁴ See *A.* 2.3, 3.792, etc.

³⁵ Followed by Ehwald and Showerman.

³⁶ Burman's *et deus hoc* yields the same sense, but it is merely a needless rearrangement of π 's text.

popular conjecture among editors,³⁷ but this introduction of intense emotion is no improvement over the adversative sense of π 's *at*, which suggests a nice contrast between the idea of the hexameter and that of the pentameter.

In conclusion, there is the question of missing lines in this section of the poem. Admittedly, Cydippe's argument proceeds rapidly and somewhat incoherently, but this may be a part of Ovid's portrayal of the heroine through the letter she supposedly writes. One could wish, however, for a smoother transition between lines 234 and 235, since *hoc* is difficult to interpret in context. If a couplet including the specification that Cydippe must marry Acontius to regain her health could be postulated, the correspondence between the oracle as reported by Ovid and by Callimachus and Aristaeus would be more exact, and the positive relationship of Apollo's oracle to Acontius' *uotum* (line 236) would be clearer. Although the loss of lines in this section of the text must be considered a good possibility, it remains in the realm of conjecture, not of certainty.

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³⁷ Crispinus, Burman, Heusinger, Ehwald, Palmer, Bornecque.

PULCHER CLAUDIUS

T. P. WISEMAN

I

WHEN P. Clodius Pulcher was murdered on the Appian Way near Bovillae in January of 52 B.C., his family was not in a strong position to take vengeance on the assassin. Of his two elder brothers, Appius (*cos.* 54) was away as proconsul in Cilicia, while Gaius (*pr.* 56) either had not yet returned from his province of Asia or else had already gone into exile after having been successfully accused of extortion.¹ Clodius' son, who had narrowly escaped death at Milo's hands after the affray at Bovillae, was still only *parvulus*;² it was left to his nephews — assisted by the women of the family as well as by clients and friends —³ to take the lead in attacking Milo.

The interrogation of Milo's slaves was immediately demanded by two *adulescentuli*, both called Ap. Claudius, both the sons of C. Claudius (*pr.* 56); the same two young men pursued the attack in April, after Pompey's election as sole consul, by prosecuting Milo under Pompey's new laws *de vi* and *de ambitu*.⁴ It was the elder, however, who with M. Antonius and P. Valerius Nepos delivered the accusation *de vi* on April 7 and was above all responsible for Milo's condemnation, both on this charge and on that of *ambitus* the next day.⁵ His brother was presumably too young to be entrusted with the more serious responsibilities of the case.

The elder Appius was evidently a formidable personality. In September 58, when he was probably still in his teens,⁶ it had been thought that he might prosecute Q. Cicero — a prospect which caused the intended victim's exiled brother considerable alarm, and not only because Ap.

¹ Cic. *Fam.* 8.8.3 (Caelius) and 11.22.1 imply his trial and condemnation; at any rate, he took no part in the prosecution of Milo.

² Asc. 35C, from Metellus Scipio's speech in the Senate.

³ Asc. 40C for the testimony of Sempronia Tuditani f. and Fulvia.

⁴ Asc. 38C.

⁵ Asc. 39C (*divinatio*), 41C, 54C. The *ambitus* charge was heard in the defendant's absence.

⁶ His father, if praetor *suo anno*, must have been in his thirty-eighth year.

Claudius (*pr.* 57) would be in charge of the *quaestio de repetundis*.⁷ It was probably he who brought back from Gaul the two legions required for the Parthian war, with slanderous belittlement of Caesar's achievements and oversanguine reports of the soldiers' devotion to Pompey.⁸ In 43 he seems to have been serving under Antony, out of *pietas* to the man who had brought his father back from exile, and perhaps out of friendship for his fellow prosecutor in the Milo trial; but he was anxious not to cut his links with the other side, for we find Cicero recommending (and excusing) him to D. Brutus.⁹

Such behaviour makes sense in the light of his previous attitude to Caesar (though we know nothing of him in the context of the Ides of March), but it was not likely to endear him to the Triumvirs. He was proscribed, and escaped by changing clothes with a faithful slave, who was butchered by the soldiers in his place.¹⁰ Service under Octavian must have followed, however, for he was consul in 38, was entrusted with an important naval command in the *bellum Siculum*, and then was sent as proconsul to Spain, where he earned the imperatorial salute and a triumph, celebrated on June 1, 32 B.C.¹¹ He probably held a further proconsulship in Bithynia in 27, where an "Ap. Pulcher procos.," named on coins from Apamea, was evidently in charge of the refounding of that Antonian colony.¹²

The younger brother of this able orator and general was a very

⁷ Cic. *Att.* 3.17.1 — not named, but the other brother was surely too young (so Drumann-Groebe, *Gesch. Roms*² 2.321).

⁸ Plut. *Pomp.* 57, cf. Cic. *Att.* 7.15.3, 7.20.1; *MRR* Supp. 16.

⁹ Cic. *Fam.* 11.22; cf. also 10.29, in which Cicero assures Appius of support for his *salus* and *incolumitas*.

¹⁰ App. *BC* 4.44. The other proscribed Appius (*ibid.* 51) fled to Sicily; presumably the younger, since the elder fought against Sex. Pompeius in 36.

¹¹ App. *BC* 5.98; *CIL* 10.1423–1424 (also *VIIvir epulonum*), 1² p. 77, *EE* 9.397.

¹² M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* 255–258. Groag (*PIR*² C 984) prefers the younger brother; *contra* Grant, 257, and G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* 28.

Note *CIL* 6.37064: "Ap. Pulch[ro . . .] | cos[. . .] | colo[nia . . .] | Ar[. . .]." The original editor (G. Gatti in *NS* [1906] 248) states baldly that "la seconda lettera dell' ultimo verso non è P, ma B o R," though the reason is not clear from his schematic illustration, and Münzer (*RE* Supp. 3.254) took it as "Ap[. . .]." Unfortunately, there is no photograph of the stone, and I am informed by the Museo Comunale di Roma that it will not be available for scrutiny until the material from the Antiquarium Comunale has found a permanent home. But if it is possible to read "Ap[amea]," then the *procos.* 27 is certainly the *cos.* 38. The inscription need not belong to his consulship: as Gatti observes (*loc. cit.*) the second line probably read "cos. imp.," as at Herculaneum (*CIL* 10.1424).

different type. After helping in the Milo prosecution, he next appears in the autumn of 51, making absurdly indiscreet disclosures about the arrangement his father had made to bribe the jury at his trial. Caelius Rufus thought him a fool and enjoyed the spectacle of his impending prosecutions by the family of one of his father's legates and by a confidential agent of his own.¹³ Like his brother, he was proscribed in 43: dividing up his wealth among his household, he set out for Sicily, but the slaves seized the ship (and his money) and sent him off in a small boat. He reached land, and they were wrecked.¹⁴ Nothing further is heard of him until he appears as one of the witnesses to a *senatusconsultum* passed in 25 B.C., holding (presumably by virtue of his patrician status) a higher place in the list than L. Marcius Censorinus, a consular and a *triumphator*.¹⁵

The elder brother was Ap. Claudius C. f., the younger Ap. f.¹⁶ That is, the younger had been adopted by Ap. Claudius *cos.* 54, who had no sons of his own;¹⁷ evidently he inherited his adoptive father's wealth and family pride, without being able to match his achievements.¹⁸ The two Appii could be distinguished either as *maior* and *minor*, as Caelius and Asconius do, or in the more normal way by using the affiliation, as Cicero does.¹⁹ Modern scholars, however, with authoritative unanimity,²⁰ detect a third distinction between them — the use by the younger Appius of the *cognomen* "Pulcher" as a *praenomen*. Can this idea be proved?

¹³ Cael. *Fam.* 8.8.2-3 (calling him "Appius minor"): "stultissimas de se, nefarias de patre confessiones."

¹⁴ App. *BC* 4.51, cf. n. 10 above. The "Ap. Pulcri" amphorae which appear at Modena and in Gaul and Germany (*CIL* 11.6695.77a-c, 13.10005.4 and 12010.4) may have come from his estates rather than his brother's.

¹⁵ *IGRR* 4.33c, cf. L. R. Taylor, *Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* 169 n. 4.

¹⁶ Elder: Cic. *Fam.* 11.22, *CIL* 10.1423-1424, Dio 48 index. Younger: *IGRR* 4.33c.

¹⁷ He may have been originally C. Claudius C. f., changing both *praenomen* and affiliation at his adoption. The implication is that C. Claudius *pr.* 56 named his elder son Appius and only gave the younger his own *praenomen*. More probably, perhaps, there could have been an unknown eldest son C. who died young, in which case Appius *minor* would have been originally (e.g.) P. Claudius C. f.

¹⁸ Ap. Claudius *cos.* 54 had not been born wealthy (Varro *RR* 3.16.2) and had a reputation for miserliness (Cael. *Fam.* 8.12.1), but he could afford to go to his province *suo sumptu* without a *lex curiata* (Cic. *Att.* 4.18.4), and his activities in Cilicia must have made him rich (cf. *Att.* 5.15.2, 6.1.2).

¹⁹ Cael. *Fam.* 8.8.2, Asc. 39C, 41C, Cic. *Fam.* 11.22.

²⁰ Mommsen on *CIL* 1.619 (p. 181); Münzer, *RE* 3.2854; Lommatzsch on

II

The name Pulcher Claudius (or Clodius) may be detected in four places:

- i. Suet. *gramm.* 10 on L. Ateius Philologus, who had taught "multis et claris iuvenibus in quis Appio quoque et Pulchro Claudiis fratribus, quorum etiam comes in provincia fuerit."
- ii. *ILLRP* 401 (*CIL* 1².775, *ILS* 4041), the inscription from the *propylum* begun at Eleusis by Ap. Claudius *cos.* 54:

[Ap. Claudi]us Ap. f. Pulche[r] propylum Cere[ri]
[et Proserpi]nae *cos.* vovit [im]perato[r coepit]
[Pulcher Clau]dius et Rex Mar[cius fec]erun[t ex testam.]

It is not likely that "Appius" (unabbreviated) should be restored in the third line: without affiliation the name would be too ambiguous.²¹

- iii. Val. Max. 3.5.3 on the popularity of Clodius Pulcher and Fulvia, "quorum filius Pulcher, praeterquam quod enervem et frigidam iuventam egit, perditio etiam amore vulgatissimae meretricis infamis fuit mortisque erubescendo genere consumptus est: avide enim abdomine devorato foedae ac sordidae intemperantiae spiritum reddidit."
- iv. *ILLRP* 964 (*CIL* 1².1283, 6.15735): "P. Clodi Pulchri l. Felicis semper qui fuit dulcis suis; v. Clodia Pulc. l. Athenais."

The third of these references is to the son of P. Clodius — that is, the little boy who escaped death in 52, the youth described by Antony in 44 as "optima in spe puer repositus," and the man who proudly inscribed his full name and career on an ancient Egyptian alabaster vase in his possession: "P. Claudius P. f. Ap. n. Ap. pron. Pulcher, q. quaesitor pr. augur."²² The *praenomen* of the freedman named in the fourth reference also suggests that Clodius' son was the patron, though an Appius is not impossible.²³

If, as is commonly supposed, the first two references are to Appius *minor*, we should have two men called "Pulcher Claudius" with no means of telling them apart; in that case, one would expect either "P. f." or "Ap. f." on the Eleusis inscription. Furthermore, we should

CIL 1².775 (p. 546); Groag, *PIR*² C 983; R. P. Robinson, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli de gramm. et rhet.* (Paris 1925) 17–18.

²¹ Lommatzsch *loc. cit.* n. 20 above. Cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.1.26, 6.6.2 for the *propylum*.

²² Cic. *Fam.* 14.13a.2 (Antony), cf. 14.13b.1; *CIL* 6.1282 (*ILS* 882).

²³ Cf. *CIL* 6.15730, 15759, 37650 for P. Clodii Appi liberti; in any case, patrons' *cognomina* were sometimes used in libertine nomenclature (*CIL* 1³.1326, 6.37651, etc.).

have to assume that the name taken by Appius *minor* to distinguish himself from his homonymous brother was then also taken by his cousin, the ambiguity reappearing. The transfer of the *cognomen* to the place of the *praenomen* became fashionable in the second half of the first century B.C.,²⁴ but that two men in the same family should do it and create gratuitous confusion between them seems implausible.

The solution is not difficult: if by *fratres* Suetonius meant *fratres patruales*,²⁵ then all four passages can refer to the son of P. Clodius and Fulvia. His trip to a province with one of the Appii and the learned Ateius could have taken place at any time up to about 37 B.C.;²⁶ if he had been four or five when his father was killed,²⁷ then he would be nineteen or twenty at that date. Perhaps the Eleusis *propylum* was finished then; we have no means of knowing.

It is not inherently any more likely that the Appii *maior* and *minor* should go to a province together than that Ap. *minor* and Pulcher Claudius should; since there is no way of telling when Ap. *minor* was born, we cannot guess whether the former pair were closer in age than the latter. Besides, it is quite intelligible that a young man of any age might accompany an elder brother or cousin if the latter were going to a province as quaestor, legate, or proconsul. But for the dates, Pulcher might even have gone with Ap. *maior* to Spain, though the Eleusis inscription and the Athenian origin of his mentor Ateius make Achaëa a more likely destination.²⁸

Nor does the variation in nomenclature between "Pulcher Claudius" and "P. Claudius P. f. (etc.) Pulcher" present any difficulty. Sex. Pompeius Magnus, M'. Valerius Messalla Potitus, L. Valerius Messalla Volesus and T. Statilius Taurus Sisenna are all examples of men who use both the traditional style and the transferred *cognomen* — Magnus Pompeius, Potitus Valerius Messalla, Volusus Valerius Messalla, Sisenna Statilius Taurus.²⁹ The latter version need not be chronologi-

²⁴ Cf. R. Syme, *Hist.* 7 (1958) 173-175.

²⁵ As at *Gaius* 15.2, 23.3, 29.1 (Gaius and Tiberius Gemellus).

²⁶ "Afterwards," Ateius attached himself to Sallust; and after the latter's death in 36 or 35, to Pollio (Suet. *gramm.* 10.6).

²⁷ How old is "parvulus"? Clodius and Fulvia had been married at least since 58 (Cic. *Phil.* 2.48), and perhaps even since 62 (C. L. Babcock, *AYP* 86 [1965] 6-8). The other child, a daughter, was *vixdum nubilis* in 43 and *intacta adhuc et virgo* when divorced in 41: Suet. *DA* 62 etc., cf. M. K. Hopkins, *Population Studies* 18 (1965) 315, on the age of consummation of Roman marriages.

²⁸ Cf. Robinson's note on the Suetonius passage (*loc. cit.* n. 20 above).

²⁹ R. Syme, *Hist.* 7 (1958) 174, on Pompeius; *id.* *JRS* 45 (1955) 156 on the Messallae (I accept the identification of Potitus as the quaestor from Claros: the moneyer was more probably M. Messalla Messallinus *cos.* 3 or *cos.* A.D. 20, i.e.

cally posterior to the former: Volusus/Volesus uses the transferred *cognomen* at the moneyership stage and the traditional version as consul; Potitus, on the other hand, has the name as a *cognomen* in his quaestorship, as a *praenomen* on his epitaph (and elsewhere); Sisenna's name appears in both versions in records of his consulship.³⁰ Our Claudius was called "P. Clodius" by Antony and Cicero in 44 and "P. Claudius Pulcher" after his praetorship twenty or more years later, but "Pulcher Claudius" (probably) in his young manhood in the thirties B.C., and again after his death by Valerius Maximus' source. Presumably the two names coexisted for much of his life, with the traditional version perhaps reserved for formal occasions, when *mos maiorum* seemed appropriate.

One motive for the use of the transferred *cognomen* as a *praenomen* (or the choice of other special *praenomina*) must have been to make the first unit in a man's nomenclature as distinctive and significant as the others. Instead of a common forename shared with thousands of other citizens of all social grades, an aristocrat might thus give himself a unique *praenomen*, one which could be used like a *gentilicium* to denote himself and his family. Thus Tacitus writes "Iullus" alone for Iullus Antonius, and "Cossorum familia" to specify that branch of the Cornelii Lentuli.³¹

For an Ap. Claudius, there was no need to do this. His *praenomen* was unique already, used like a *gentilicium* to name a forum, an aqueduct, and a road, or to provide a *cognomen* for a son given in adoption (M. Messalla Barbatulus Appianus). Cicero could invoke "Appietas" as well as "Lentulitas" to describe aristocratic pride, and "Appianus" rather than "Claudianus" was the natural adjective to use.³² This distinction was denied to the younger sons of the Claudii, who had to be satisfied

"Messalla" *par excellence*; see below); Nagl in *RE* 3A 2197f on Statilius (*cos.* A.D. 16).

³⁰ No variation is known in the nomenclature of Paullus Aemilius Lepidus, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, Paullus and Africanus Fabii Maximi, or Nero Claudius Drusus (after his renaming as an infant from "D. Claudius Nero"). Perhaps a distinction should be drawn between the formal choice of a special *praenomen*, whether from a *cognomen* or not (cf. Faustus, Iullus), and the occasional informal use of a *cognomen* as if it were a *praenomen*. For the former procedure, see Suet. *Nero* 6.2, Gaius' ironical suggestion that Agrippina's child be called Claudius Domitius Ahenobarbus.

³¹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.10, 15.22.

³² *TLL* 2.289-291 (esp. 289.64ff), Syme (n. 24 above) 173; Cic. *Fam.* 3.7.5 for "Appietas." Also Appia as a female name? Cf. U. Weidemann, *Acta Classica* 6 (1963) 138ff, on Tac. *Ann.* 3.68.3 — a very attractive idea, though the explanation of the textual corruption (p. 142) is less than compelling.

with the banal "Gaius" or "Publius." What more natural than for the son of the great demagogue to drop his common forename and emphasise the noble *cognomen* that his eloquent adversary had so often tried to turn against him? "Pulcher Claudius" could only be a son of Clodius Pulcher.³³

III

Ap. Claudius *maior* called himself "Ap. Pulcher" on the coins he struck in 27; it was a time when "Claudius" would make men think of the *princeps'* nephew Marcellus or his stepson Nero.³⁴ But if space had required him to prune the name even further and dispense with one of the two remaining constituent parts, it is hard to credit that he would have foregone "Appius," the badge of seniority within the *gens*, and signed himself "Pulcher." Only a descendant of the junior branch would do that; and in fact these coins (with the proconsul's inscription; see n. 12) are the last certain evidence we have of any Appius using the name "Pulcher" at all.

It follows that the Augustan moneyer who did call himself simply "Pulcher" should not be identified (with Groag) as Ap. Claudius, the ill-fated lover of Augustus' daughter.³⁵ The moneyer was a member of one of the four colleges that struck *quadrantes* only; three of the colleges, including Pulcher's, put all their names on each coin, a procedure which made the use of one-word nomenclature absolutely essential. The names are: Silius, Annius, Lamia; Pulcher, Taurus, Regulus; Apronius, Galus, Sisenna, Messalla.³⁶ The Sili and Apronii did not use (or need) *cognomina*; Annius may have been C. Annius Pollio but could hardly have used that *cognomen* alone;³⁷ for almost all the others, the *cognomen* was unmistakable. Galus is the exception, if he is Galus Sulpicius *suff.*

³³ The word meant "excellent, glorious," as well as "handsome." For Cicero's sneers, see in *Clod. Cur. frag.* 24 (p. 89 St.), *Att.* 1.16.10, 2.1.4, 2.22.1; cf. Catullus 89.3.

³⁴ Cf. Prop. 3.18.33, 4.10.39, where "Claudius" is Marcellus' great ancestor. For a similar reason, perhaps, the Claudius who was adopted by a Messalla and died as consul in 12 B.C. was not called "Claudianus": cf. Dio 55.27.4 on Tiberius' inscription on the temple of Castor.

³⁵ V.P. 2.100.5; Groag, *PIR*² C 985, followed by Bowersock (n. 12 above) 28-29.

³⁶ Mattingly-Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coinage* 1.78, 80 (nos. 180-182, 183-185, 198-214); *ibid.* 81 (nos. 215-218) for the fourth college, with one name on each coin: P. Betilienus Bassus, C. Naevius Capella, C. Rubellius Blandus, L. Valerius Catullus.

³⁷ Groag, *PIR*² A 625, 679 for the identification; confusion with C. Asinius Pollio *cos.* A.D. 23 was more to be avoided than possible attribution to the consular Annii of the Republic, if there were any left (cf. *PIR*² A 686, 721).

4 B.C. (or a homonymous son): he chose to be known by a distinctive *praenomen* rather than by his *cognomen*, whatever that was. An Appius Claudius would certainly have done the same. A better parallel for Pulcher may be Sisenna, if he is the consul of A.D. 16; the *cognomen* on his coins might be in use as a *praenomen*. That is, we may expand "Pulcher" either to "(P.) Claudius Pulcher" or to "Pulcher Claudius" — in either case, he is probably the son of Pulcher Claudius, and grandson of P. Clodius and Fulvia.

The dating of the Augustan moneyers is notoriously disputed, and no issues are more uncertain than the *quadrantes* series. For coins of such low value, hoard evidence is practically nonexistent,³⁸ and their small size leaves no room for legends or designs which could imply a date by referring to contemporary events. Only the names themselves can help, if they may be identified with those of later consuls. But the varying time taken to reach the consulship by a *novus* or a *nobilis*, a brilliant careerist or a worthy plodder, a friend of the imperial house or a man less clearly in favour, makes the attempt to detect a regular interval between moneyership and consulship practically worthless.³⁹ Besides, the age

	5 (B.C.)	0	5	10	15	20	25
{ SILIUS							
{ ANNIUS					* P.S. suff. 3 or * C.S. cos. 13		
{ LAMIA					C. Annius Pollio suff. 21/22 *		
					* L. Aelius Lamia cos. 3		
{ PULCHER							
{ TAURUS						* T. Stat. Taurus cos. 11	
{ REGULUS					L. Livineius Regulus suff. 18 ⁴⁰ *		
{ APRONIUS						* L. Apronius suff. 8	
{ GALUS					* Galus Sulpicius suff. 4 B.C.		
{ SISENNA					Sisenna Statilius Taurus cos. 16 *		
{ MESSALLA					* M. Val. Mess. Messallinus, cos. 3 B.C. * or 20		
C. Rubellius Blandus							
(cf. n. 36)					C. Rubellius Blandus suff. 18 *		

³⁸ There are, however, two hoards of *quadrantes* from Pompeii which might help: see the list in L. Breglia, *Pompeiana* (1950) 57f, nos. 7, 59; cf. n. 42 below.

³⁹ For instance, K. Kraft in *Mainzer Zeitschr.* 46 (1951-1952) 28-35, esp. p. 29, is much too rigid in assuming as typical the ten-year gap known in the case of C. Antistius Vetus. The influence of Tiberius after A.D. 4 in accelerating or checking careers may be borne in mind.

⁴⁰ All the known members of his family were Reguli, from a late-republican praetor (*RE* no. 2) to a senator under Nero (no. 4), and the moneyer L. Livineius Regulus of 42 B.C. left out the *gentilicium* on some of his issues. This makes the Augustan moneyer much more probably a Livineius than, e.g., Aquillius

when the moneyership was held is not known precisely, and may have varied by several years.

The possible identifications are set forth in the accompanying table (dates A.D. unless stated). These identifications range over twenty-five years. Such a spread can hardly be due solely to variations in the time taken to reach the consulship; it is clear that some of the moneyers must be *either* the sons of the consuls suggested (e.g. Galus, Lamia?), if the coins are all to be put in the last few years B.C., *or* their fathers (e.g. Sisenna, Regulus, etc.), if they were to belong some twenty years earlier. Grueber, Mattingly-Sydenham, and Pink all prefer the first alternative (or something like it);⁴¹ it would give us a greater number of consular identifications, and Mr. M. H. Crawford tells me that there is some exiguous numismatical evidence in its favour.⁴² We may tentatively accept it, and with it the corollary that "Pulcher" could have been born in the twenties B.C., some thirty years after the birth of Pulcher Claudius to P. Clodius and Fulvia — a very suitable interval.

IV

There is one difficulty involved in the proposition that the name "Pulcher" was not emphasised by the senior ("Appius") branch of the family. That is the lady Claudia Pulchra, the *sobrīna* of Agrippina who was exiled in A.D. 26. Borghesi accounted for the relationship by making her the daughter of M. Messalla Barbatus Appianus and Marcella *minor*, Agrippina's first cousin.⁴³ Certainly her mother must be one of Octavia's daughters, if Tacitus was using the word precisely,⁴⁴ and Borghesi's theory has been generally accepted. But the theory is difficult in that it involves Marcella giving birth to three children in about three years, by two different husbands: Paullus Aemilius Lepidus (*suff.* 34 B.C.), whose wife Cornelia died in 16 B.C., is supposed to have married Marcella immediately afterwards;⁴⁵ she conceived Paullus

Regulus (*PIR*² A 1001-1002) or Q. Articuleius Regulus (A 1178), whose families used other *cognomina* (Paetus, Florus).

⁴¹ Between 13 and 3 B.C. (Grueber), 10 and 7 B.C. (Pink), 9 and 4 B.C. (Mattingly-Sydenham). Perhaps a few years later still?

⁴² The limited wear on the *quadrantes* contained in a small hoard from the Tiber (closing under Claudius) in the possession of Mr. Brian Ward-Perkins.

⁴³ Tac. *Ann.* 4.52, 4.66.1; Borghesi, *Œuvres Complètes* 1.417; *PIR*² C 1103 for the evidence on Appianus' marriage.

⁴⁴ He is precise at *Ann.* 12.64.4 on Domitia Lepida, *sobrīna pr<op>ior* of the younger Agrippina; less so, apparently, at 12.6.5 (cf. Furneaux and Koestermann *ad loc.*). For the legal meaning of *sobrīna*, see Aelius Gallus in Festus 379-380L, Gaius *Dig.* 38.10.1.6 (cf. *TLL* 4.473.73ff).

⁴⁵ Prop. 4.11.65-66.

Aemilius Regillus before Lepidus too died, then married Appianus and bore him M. Messalla Barbatus and (according to Borghesi) Claudia Pulchra; all this before Appianus died in his consulship in 12 B.C.

Stein found this hard to believe, and E. Bayer has recently dismissed the reconstruction as a "learned fantasy."⁴⁶ Bayer's alternative version makes Marcella Appianus' wife, and Claudia Pulchra's mother, before 20 B.C.; widowed in 12 B.C., she was then married to L. Paullus, son of the *suff.* 34 and himself later *cos.* A.D. 1 (her description as "Marcella Paulli" could apply to either⁴⁷), but later divorced some time before 2 B.C. when Paullus married the younger Julia. This theory, however, merely exchanges one difficulty for another. Bayer cites the divorce of Agrippa, whom the elder Marcella gave up to Augustus' daughter in 21 B.C., as a parallel for Paullus' divorce of Marcella *minor* in order to marry Augustus' granddaughter. But Agrippa in 21 B.C. was practically at the height of his power, the *princeps*' recognised deputy; Augustus could hardly have married his daughter to anyone else. This hardly applied to L. Paullus, who was surely not so indispensable to Augustus' plans that nobody else *could* be given the younger Julia. For this is what Bayer's theory implies: Augustus' niece was not good enough for him, only the granddaughter would do. It is hard to credit that Augustus would offend Marcella — and her mother Octavia —⁴⁸ for the sake of young Paullus, and the traditional view, that Paullus was a particularly eligible aristocratic bachelor, is much more satisfactory.

So the problem of Marcella's marriages is still not solved. I should prefer to keep Borghesi's theory, but without Claudia Pulchra — that is, giving Marcella enough time to conceive *one* child (Messalla Barbatus) by Appianus before he died in 12 B.C. If Claudia Pulchra can be detached from the Appii, then her conspicuous *cognomen* (the first known use of it by a woman of the *gens*) can be taken as evidence that she belonged to the other branch of the family and was proud of it.

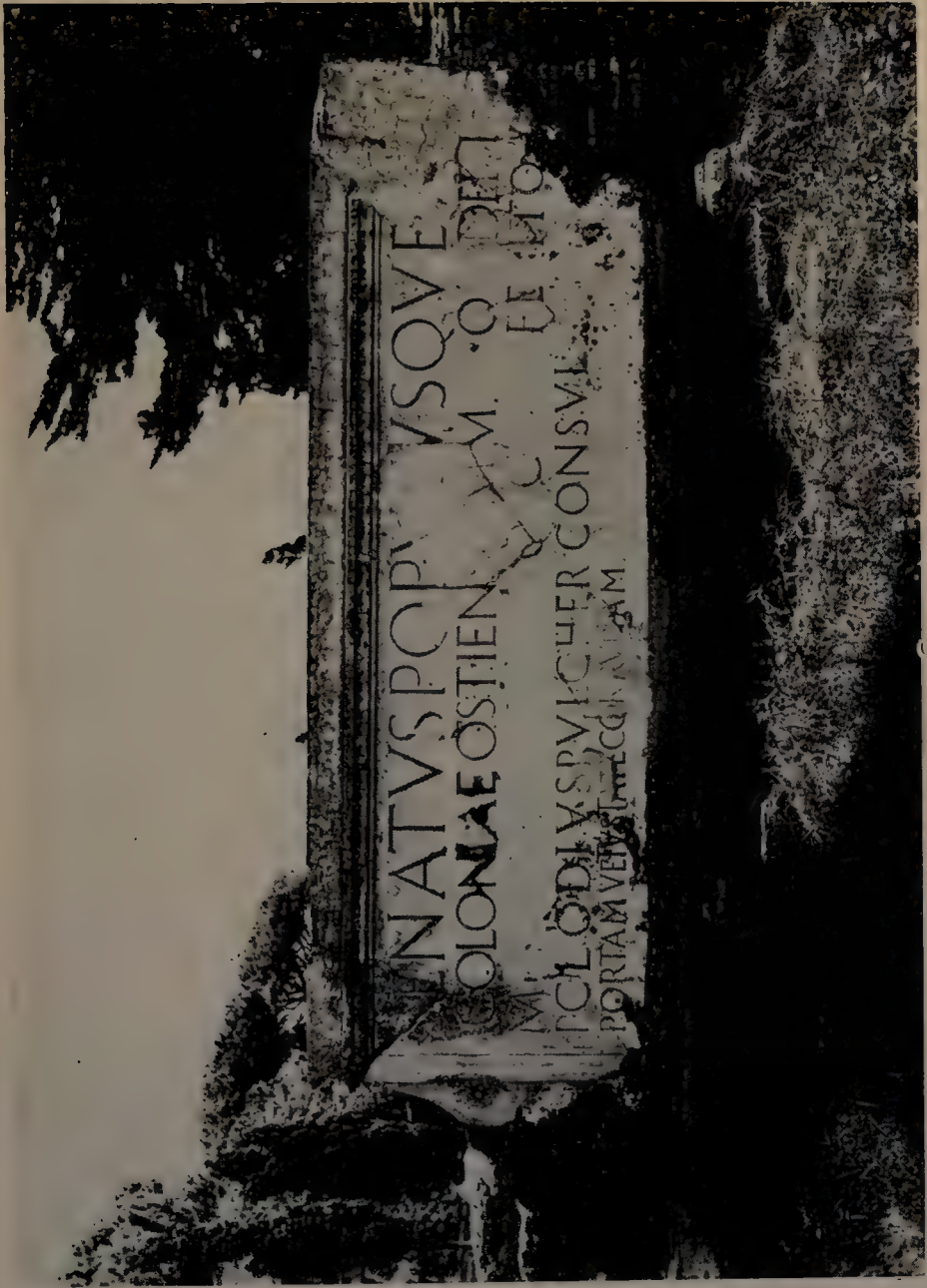
Her father, in that case, should be Pulcher Claudius; but who could her mother be? The elder Marcella is the only possibility. Her date of birth is unknown but could have been as early as 53; she was given in marriage to Agrippa, but probably not before 30 B.C. if Agrippa was then still married to Caecilia Attica.⁴⁹ Could Octavian's eldest niece have

⁴⁶ Stein, *PIR*² C 1103 ("vix credi potest"); E. Bayer, *Hist.* 17 (1968) 118–123.

⁴⁷ *CIL* 10.5981, 5.9000, cf. 2.3837.

⁴⁸ Cf. Suet. *DA* 63.1 ("exorata sorore") on the elder Marcella's divorce.

⁴⁹ Birth: the *terminus ante quem* for her parents' marriage is Suet. *DJ* 27.1. Marriage: according to Suet. *gramm.* 16.1, Attica's would-be seducer fled to



CIL 14.4707, reproduced by kind permission of the Soprintendenza alle antichità di Ostia.

stayed so long unwed? An engagement to Pulcher Claudius, the son of Clodius and Fulvia, would admirably fit the political context in 43, when Octavian married Pulcher's sister. His encounter with the false Marius in the autumn of 45⁵⁰ had shown Octavian the advantages of being related to the son of one of the heroes of the urban *plebs*. Clodius' son must have been an obvious choice for a marriage alliance. The ensuing marriage would have been subsequently dissolved, perhaps for moral as well as political reasons,⁵¹ but a daughter might well have been born from it. Pulcher, not yet having a son, would marry again; Pulcher the moneyer would then be the (younger) half-brother of Claudia Pulchra.⁵²

V

Further speculation is possible. Was the moneyer Pulcher identical with the consul P. Claudius Pulcher who rebuilt the *porta Romana* at Ostia and was honoured by the Nolani as their patron?⁵³ The rebuilding of the Ostian gate is usually assigned to the Domitianic period,⁵⁴ hardly a possible date for a patrician Claudius. The third century, when republican (including Claudian) pedigrees were being manufactured,⁵⁵ might just be conceivable, but the lettering of the inscription and the archaeological context of the gate rule that out. Groag suggested that Claudius might be an unknown suffect of the late Republic (presumably triumviral), the inscription of his restoration work having been recut early in the second century A.D. But it seems that

Cornelius Gallus (in Egypt?). See M. Reinhold, *Marcus Agrippa* 70–71, for the evidence on Agrippa's first two marriages: Dio 53.1.2 (28 B.C.) is not chronologically reliable.

⁵⁰ Nic. Dam. *Caes.* 14 (*FGrH* 90 F 128.32–33); cf. Val. Max. 9.15.1, App. *BC* 3.3 for his popularity (and Val. Max. 9.15.4 for that of the false *Clodius*, Trebellius Casca).

⁵¹ See Val. Max. 3.5.3 (quoted above) on Pulcher's *infamia* — not, however, datable. Marcella's ironic comment on marriage is worth noting: "rogata a matre gauderetne se nupsisse, respondit: ita valde ut amplius nolim" (Jer. *adv. Jovin.* 1.46, who misses the point and includes her in a list of virtuous *univirae*). After her divorce from Agrippa she was married to Iullus Antonius.

⁵² This would put Pulchra in her fifties in A.D. 26 — not necessarily too old to be accused of *impudicitia* (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 24–25 on Sempronia, Tac. *Ann.* 13.19 and 21 on Junia Silana, etc.).

⁵³ *CIL* 14.4707, 10.1250 (*PIR*² C 986); there is no warrant for the spelling "Clodius," as restored on the inscription (see the plate).

⁵⁴ R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* 66–67, who is cautious about the arguments.

⁵⁵ Cf. SHA *Alex. Sev.* 44 (Metelli); *ILS* 1184, *PIR*² C 762 ("progenies Claudius Appiadum").

the Ostian walls and gates were only built about 80 B.C.,⁵⁶ and forty-odd years is hardly long enough for the *porta Romana* to have become "vetustate corrupta." Groag follows Wickert on the date of the lettering ("late first century or early second"), but Wickert in turn was influenced by the archaeological date for the reconstruction of the gate itself.⁵⁷ In fact, there is nothing in the lettering to rule out a date much earlier in the first century A.D. (see the plate). P. Claudius might have restored the gate under Tiberius, when it would have been about a century old; if it was further restored in a general building programme under Domitian, his inscription could have been kept or copied, like that of the emperor Claudius on the *porta maggiore* at Rome (*ILS* 218).

The only place in the consular *fasti* where P. Claudius Pulcher could be fitted in is in A.D. 21 or 22, along with C. Annius Pollio, M. Cocceius Nerva, and Q. Sanguinius Maximus.⁵⁸ If he is "Pulcher," a consulship in 21 or 22 would tally reasonably well with what is known of the other *quadrans* moneyers. He would have reached the consulship (in his forties?) ten years after his colleague Taurus, but this is not inconceivable; perhaps Augustus and Tiberius did not care to expedite the career of a relative of one of Julia's lovers, even if he were the stepson of Augustus' niece.

To complete the story, we must return to the senior branch of the Claudii. Appius, Julia's lover, if not the moneyer Pulcher, was presumably his cousin, the son of Appius *maior* (*cos.* 38) or *minor*. M. Messalla Barbatus Appianus was probably the son of Appius *maior*, to judge by the date of his consulship (12 B.C.). The nomenclature of one of the freedmen of his wife Marcella *minor* suggests that before the adoption his name had been C. Claudius,⁵⁹ which would make him the younger son; we might in any case expect Appius to have kept an elder son in the family to preserve the name. Probably not Julia's lover, however, who should be younger than this;⁶⁰ age, and perhaps temperament, suggest Appius *minor* as his father.

⁵⁶ Wickert in *CIL* 14 p. 609, Meiggs (n. 54 above) 34-36.

⁵⁷ Groag, *PIR*² C 986; Wickert on *CIL* 14.4707, "quam ad coniecturam optime quadrat forma litterarum."

⁵⁸ But not necessarily L. Piso as well: cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* 750 (*contra* Degraasi, *Fasti Consolari dell' Impero* 7). "M. Lollius" and "Favonius" have now been expelled from the gap in A.D. 13 (Syme, *JRS* 56 [1966] 59f), but the suffect whose name was erased there had a *cognomen* ending in -cus or -gus.

⁵⁹ *CIL* 6.4421, 4539; cf. 4445, 4469, 4482, 4491, 4540-4541, 4546, 4697; n. 43 above.

⁶⁰ Cf. Macr. *Sat.* 2.5.6 on the *iuventus luxuriosa* who accompanied Julia ("et hi mecum senes fiunt"); however, Iullus Antonius must have been about forty.

There were daughters in the family, too: Claudia Ap. f. who married P. Sulpicius Quirinius, Appianus' colleague as *cos.* 12 B.C., and another who married a Junius Silanus — perhaps Appia, the mother of C. Silanus *cos.* A.D. 10, if an emendation in Tacitus may be trusted.⁶¹ Which of the Appii was their father, and whether they were sisters or cousins, we have no means of telling.

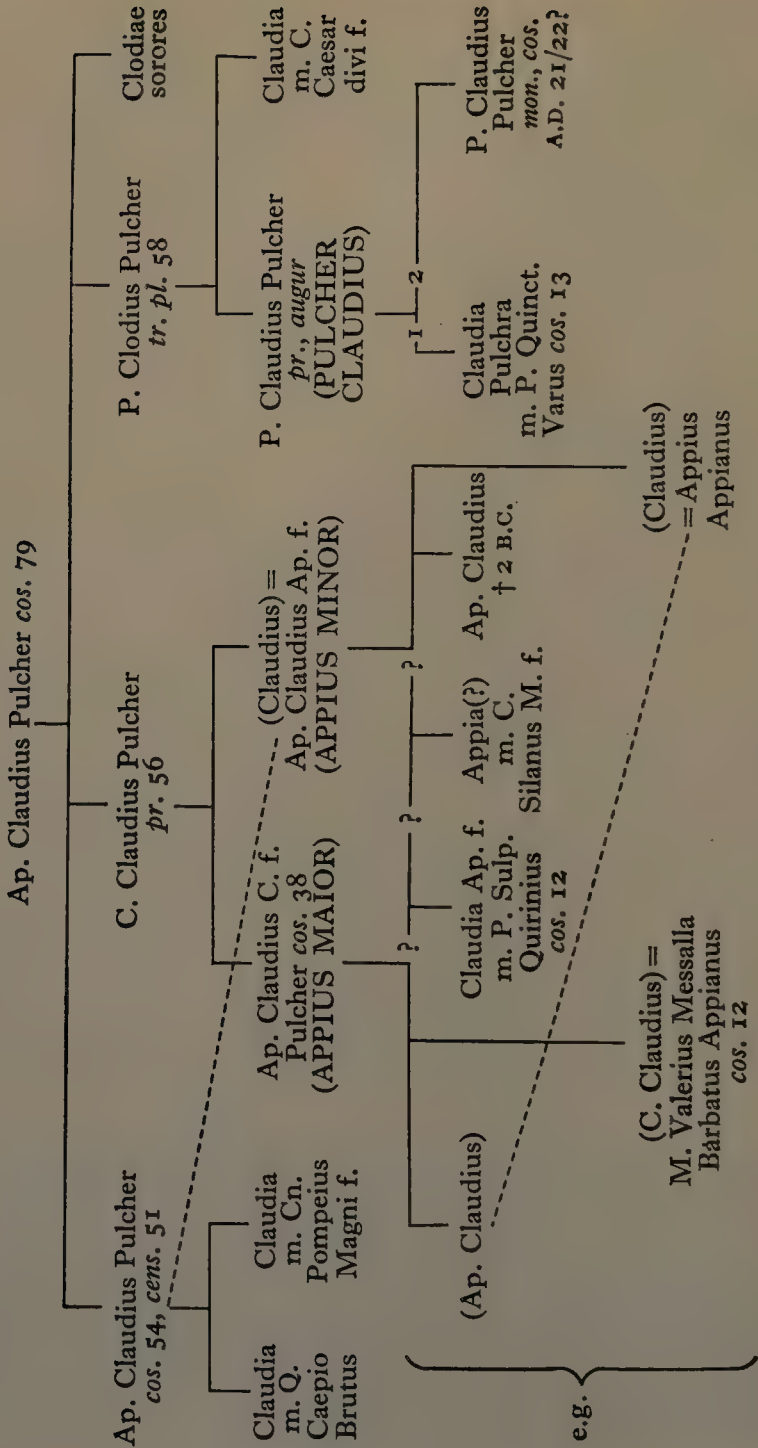
But that is not all. In A.D. 17, Tiberius expelled — or persuaded to resign — certain spendthrift senators whose financial difficulties were due to their own vices and did not merit imperial subsidy. Their names, quoted by Tacitus presumably from the *acta senatus*, are Vibidius Virro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sulla, and Q. Vitellius; the third one, Appius Appianus, was surely a patrician Claudius, and adopted by one Appius from another.⁶² The order of names, which is evidently based on seniority rather than social distinction, suggests that Ap. Appianus was in his thirties: Vibidius was a senior senator, Marius Nepos a *praetorius*, while Sulla could be a son of the *cos.* 5 B.C., and Vitellius was a *quaestorius* and a younger brother of a suffect consul of A.D. 32.⁶³ Appianus is the right age for a younger brother of Julia's paramour, and his nomenclature suggests that his natural father was an Appius. It would make sense to postulate a childless son of Appius *maior* (i.e. the elder brother of Messalla Appianus), who adopted the brother of the unlucky Appius after the latter's death in 2 B.C., to prevent the name from dying out.

The accompanying stemma summarises the relationships of the last of the Claudii Pulchri according to the reconstruction suggested above. It is, of course, highly speculative. But if it approximates to the reality, the story it implies is one of success followed by disaster. The success was in 13–12 B.C. with the consulships of Messalla Appianus (recently married to Marcella *minor*) and the husbands of Claudia Ap. f. and Claudia Pulchra, and later with the moneyership of "Pulcher" presaging further honours; disaster came when one Appius was executed in 2

⁶¹ *CIL* 6.15626, cf. 37865; Tac. *Ann.* 3.68.3 (Weidemann, n. 32 above).

⁶² Tac. *Ann.* 2.48.3; *PIR*² A 946, where Groag rightly doubted "num Appii nomen pro gentilicio accipiendum sit." The *praenomen* could, as we have seen, act as a *gentilicium* (cf. n. 34 above for "Appianus"), and no senator with "Appius" as a genuine gentile name is known before the Flavian period (*PIR*² A 944, 949, 953).

⁶³ Vibidius: R. Syme, *JRS* 39 (1949) 17; evidently a senator in 9 B.C. (Front. *Aq.* 129), and his daughter was *vetustissima* in A.D. 48 (Tac. *Ann.* 11.32.2). Marius Nepos: Sen. *ben.* 2.7.2. Sulla: Groag, *PIR*² C 1458 for the suggestion. Vitellius: Suet. *Vit.* 1.2, 2.2; he comes between the *suff.* 32 and the (highly successful) *cos.* 34.



B.C. and another disgraced in A.D. 17. P. Claudius Pulcher reached his consulship, and on the female side the family name was perpetuated in the nomenclature of the Junii Silani,⁶⁴ but as a political force the Appii and the Pulchri were finished. Perhaps they were too closely connected with the family of Agrippina;⁶⁵ the last act ends in A.D. 26 with the banishment of Agrippina's cousin Claudia Pulchra — the daughter, it is suggested, of Pulcher Claudius.

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⁶⁴ C. Appius Junius Silanus *cos.* A.D. 28 (*PIR*² I 822) and Junia Claudi(II)a (I 857). Cf. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* 8.203, and Wiedemann (n. 32 above) for the link.

⁶⁵ Ap. Claudius and Julia (V.P. 2.100.3); Claudia Pulchra associated with her cousin Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* 4.52.5); also perhaps Junia Claudia's marriage to Gaius?

A LEADING FAMILY OF ROMAN THESPIAE

C. P. JONES

THE history of Greece under the Principate is almost exclusively social and economic. Sometimes there was need for important administrative changes; on a few occasions unrest provoked Rome to armed intervention.¹ The internal workings of the major cities, moreover, can sometimes be observed in detail. But the most important historical fact is the slow, undramatic recovery of the province from the conditions of the late Republic, with a concomitant transformation of its society and culture. Members of the local aristocracies began to turn their energies outwards, to advancement in the Roman *cursus honorum*; the snobbery of descent from mythical or historical heroes was reinforced by claims to equestrian or senatorial dignity. Simultaneously, many of those who became knights and senators, in old Greece as well as in Asia Minor, participated in the revival of Greek letters under the Empire.

In the way of such classes, these prominent and educated Greeks allied their families in marriage and had their favourite meeting places, a comfortable watering spot or a famous city at the time of festival. Modern knowledge of this high society, cardinal in its relations with Rome and its own cities, is largely derived from the chance allusions of literature. But an indispensable complement to the literary record is provided by the monuments that this society raised to itself: the buildings, the statues, the dedications, the epitaphs. Often the steady record of epigraphy helps to fill the gaps left by the more capricious distribution of literary evidence.

One family in Boeotian Thespieae happens to be unusually well known because of extensive excavations in the city and in the nearby shrine of the Muses, which was administered by the Thespians. The texts

I wish to thank Professor G. W. Bowersock of Harvard University both for his criticisms and for allowing me to use the proofs of his book, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969).

¹ Notably in Athens c. A.D. 13 (G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* [1965] 106–108) and in Greece under Antoninus Pius (Lucian *Peregr.* 19; *HA* Pius 5.5; *AE* 1929.21).

discovered in both places, in combination with those from elsewhere in Greece and with references in literature, allow the history of the family to be traced from the third century B.C. to the third A.D. Such a history illustrates the transformation of a family of the Greek aristocracy into one of Roman citizens and senators, with friends and relatives prominent in literature.

All the texts then known were assembled in a fundamental study by P. Jamot, the excavator of Thespieae.² A new examination is required for several reasons. From the start, Jamot's study contained errors and misconceptions. Some of these were matters of interpretation which only later research was to modify. But many of the texts that Jamot assembled received their first publication there and have not been reexamined since then; and comparison with other texts published by Jamot and subsequently revised shows that his transcriptions were not always accurate.³ There is room, therefore, for doubt about some of his readings in texts concerned with this family. The conjectures advanced here are made tentatively and without inspection of the stones: the promised corpus of Thespian inscriptions may justify or rebut them.⁴

Furthermore, the very exhaustiveness of Jamot's study has been a deterrent to fresh enquiry. The evidence of new texts has been patched onto his conclusions and not made the occasion for a revision of them. Moreover, those publishing new inscriptions concerning the family have naturally referred back to Jamot and ignored other new documents. Lastly, neither Jamot nor any later writer has attempted to view the entire history of the family as part of the wider history of Thespieae and of Greece under Roman rule.⁵

In the following the principal inscriptions will be considered individually, and their evidence will be combined at different stages in stemmata. Then, after a sketch of the history of Thespieae in the same period, the revised evidence will be drawn together into a survey of the family's development.⁶ An appendix discusses a related but separate

² P. Jamot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 291-321, henceforth cited as "Jamot."

³ Note especially A. Keramopoullos, *BCH* 30 (1906) 467-468, republishing with revision of the stone an epigram first published by Jamot; and also Jamot's faulty transcription, even now causing confusion, of an epigram of Honestus (below, at n. 64). Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1959.184, p. 193 no. 97, suggesting *Μικύθα* in place of *Λικύθα* copied by Jamot.

⁴ J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1958.253a.

⁵ Note the comment of J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1954.143: "il serait intéressant . . . d'esquisser l'histoire sociale de cette famille, avec ses ramifications et avec ses goûts (concours hippiques et musicaux de Thespies, rapports avec Hérode Atticus (?)) et avec Plutarque."

⁶ I have added the provenance only of inscriptions not originally from

problem, the chronology of an epigram from Thespieae that honours an unnamed Augusta.

I. THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

1. ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τοῦ Ἀρί[σ]τωνος, ἱερέως δὲ
τῶν Μο[υ]σῶν | Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Μό[ν]δων[ος],
.....

Jamot, *BCH* 19 (1895) 332-333, no. 6, lines 1-3 (a catalogue of victors at the Museia).

Jamot, 312, suggested from the recurrence of the names "Aristo" and "Mondo" in later generations of this family that these were early members of it. This would be even more likely if M. Feyel's suggestion in lines 1-2 were correct, *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne* (1942) 118 n. 2: ἀγωνοθετοῦντος <Μόνδωνος (vel aliud)> τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος. Feyel gives reasons for dating the text to between 210 and 203 B.C., *ibid.* 116-117.

II. THE JULIO-CLAUDIAN PERIOD

In this period two branches of the family can be distinguished, or perhaps two separate families that were to be joined c. 70 in the persons of a pair called Flavius Mondo and Flavia Archela. The ancestry of both can be traced from the reign of Augustus; it will be convenient to begin with Mondo's.

2. [Μ]όνδων Ἀνθεμίων[ος τὸν δεῖνα] | εὐεργέτην καὶ [———].

Jamot, 297 no. 15, restoring σωτήρα after καί; πάτρωνα or φίλον would be equally possible, given the state of the text.

For the date see below, on no. 5.

3. Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Θεσ|πιαῖς
Πολυκράτην Ἀνθεμίωνος | πρῶτον ἀναθέντα καὶ
αὐτοῖς γυ|μνάσιον καὶ ἄλιμμα διὰ βίου.

Jamot, 297 no. 16.

For the date, see below, on no. 5.

4. γένει Σεβ[αστῶν] | καὶ Ῥώμηι καὶ ᾿[———]
Φιλείνος Μό[ν]δωνος | τὴν στοὰν [ἐκ τῶν] | ἰδίων.

Jamot, 297-298 no. 17. Line 1: Σεβ[αστῶν] *scripsi*, Σεβ[αστοῦ] Jamot, followed by A. Plassart, *BCH* 50 (1926) 394. Line 2: ᾿Ε[ρωτι] Jamot *exempli gratia*.

Thespieae or the shrine of the Muses. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise indicated. Publications of an inscription earlier than *IG* 7 (1892) have not been noted; thereafter the first reference given is to the first publication.

The date of the inscription rests partly on the reading in line 1. The formula γένος Σεβαστῶν appears to be invariable: thus at Thisbe (*IG* 7.2234) and Athens (*IG* 2/3².3538 = *Syll.*³ 790). But it need not imply a date later than 54, as has been assumed (Dittenberger on *Syll.*³ 790, n. 2): Σεβαστοί is used of the imperial house generally as early as Tiberius' reign (thus in *SEG* 11.923, lines 2-4 = Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*² [1955], no. 102a. Note also Claudius' reference in his letter to the Alexandrians of 41 to οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ Σεβαστοί, *Corp. Pap. Jud.* no. 153, line 68 = E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius and Nero* [1967], no. 370). The date of the inscription could therefore be Tiberian or later: see below, on no. 5.

5. ὁ δῆμος Ἀρίστωνα Φιλείνου, | ἄριστα
πολιτευσάμενον καὶ | τὰς ἀρχὰς πᾶσας τελέσαντα |
καλῶς καὶ ἄρξαντα ἴσως καὶ δι|καίως, ἀγωνο-
θετήσαντα δὲ Ἐρω|τιδῶν καὶ Καισαρήων καὶ
Μουσῆων | καὶ Σεβαστῆς Ἰουλίας.

Jamot, 298-299, no. 18.

The same man is honoured in two other inscriptions, Jamot, 299 no. 19 and 301 no. 20, which add respectively the information that Aristo was agonothete of the Museia for a second time and that he was ἀγορανόμος. Jamot's placing of this man in his stemma of the family must be discarded. It was based on the belief that the Σεβαστὴ Ἰουλίᾳ mentioned here was Julia, the daughter of Augustus, whose banishment in 2 B.C. would provide a *terminus ante*. For reasons that will be given in the appendix below, it appears rather that the lady honoured is Livia, the wife of Augustus, after her adoption into the gens *Iulia* in A.D. 14. The preference for the orthography -ήων, rather than -είων, also found in Jamot, 299-300 no. 19, provides an approximate *terminus ante* of A.D. 50, though this orthography is found as late as the second century, especially in the nomenclature of games (E. Schweizer [Schwyzer], *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften* [1898] 55-56; E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften* [1903] 41-42; *IGR* 1.445 line 12 [after A.D. 86], 1.153, line 31 [after A.D. 181]).

The relative dates of nos. 2-5 may be considered together. Numbers 2 and 3, concerning Mondo and Polycrates sons of Anthemio, have no definite indication of date; no. 4, concerned with a Philinus son of Mondo, is not earlier than the reign of Tiberius; no. 5, concerning an

Aristo son of Philinus, is also not earlier than the reign of Tiberius, though probably not much later. The meagre evidence suggests that Mondo and Polycrates may be considered sons of the same Anthemio and dated to the Augustan era; Philinus may be son of the same Mondo, and no. 4 dated in the reign of Tiberius; Aristo might be son of the same Philinus, though possibly a coeval and related in some other way. Philinus can be identified with some confidence as the father of Flavius Mondo, who flourished roughly in the third quarter of the first century: the inscriptions relating to him will be discussed below.

The wife of Flavius Mondo, Flavia Archela, was also from an honoured house of Thespieae, perhaps already connected with her husband's. It too can be traced back to the Augustan era.

6. Πολυκρατίδης Θεμίωνος ἱερατεύων Τίτον |
 Στατίλιον Ταῦρον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα.

Jamot, 291 no. 1.

The name Θεμίων appears to be attested only here (F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen* [1917] 202). That in itself causes disquiet; so also does the similarity of the name to one familiar at Thespieae, Ἀνθεμίων. If Ἀνθεμίων is right here, whether the error be a stonemason's or Jamot's, there may be a kinship with the Polycrates son of Anthemio already considered (above, no. 3), of whom this man was a contemporary.

The date of the inscription can be approximately secured by the name of the patron, T. Statilius Taurus. A man of the same name appears as the *patronus* of three freedmen in a group of businessmen, Greek and Roman, which made a dedication at Thespieae in A.D. 14 (*CIL* 3.7301; on the provenance of the stone, now at Thebes, J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique* [1919] 68–69, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 [1946] 8). The two men are clearly identical with each other, and also probably with the like-named consul of A.D. 11. (Thus Nagl, *RE* 3A [1929] 2204, no. 36; Jamot, 306–307, opted for Sisenna Statilius Taurus, *cos.* A.D. 16.) If that is correct, Polycratides' patron was the grandson of one of the great marshals of the triumviral period, the like-named *suffectus* of 37 B.C. It has been suggested that the grandfather was Augustus' first appointee to the province of Macedonia, of which Achaea was a part (R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* [1939] 302); the later Taurus' patronage of a wealthy family of Thespieae would be all the more appropriate.

The connection with a prominent Roman, the patron of freedmen trading at Thespieae, recalls Polycrates son of Anthemio, the benefactor of the Roman community at Thespieae, who has already been brought into relation with Polycratides. One of these two men may further be connected with a recently published list of victors in games of Thespieae (*BCH* 82 [1958] 158–159 no. 9 = *AE* 1960.307, *SEG* 22.385): the inscription has been dated between 6 B.C. and A.D. 2, the time of Tiberius' stay on Rhodes, by the observation that his name appears among the victors. (Thus J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1959.184, p. 194; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* [1965] 77, 134. It is to be noted that in *SEG* the identification with Tiberius is not mentioned and the inscription is dated merely to the first century B.C. or A.D.) The name Πολυκράτης[s] has been read at the beginning of the text, presumably among those of the presiding officials; since the redaction of such inscriptions would normally require the names to appear in the genitive, and the stone, which was already worn, is now known only from a copy of Jamot, it is tempting to supply Πολυκρατο[υ], or better, Πολυκρατί[δου]. In any case, a Polycrates or a Polycratides is attested as an official or the father of an official of the Thespian Erotideia, now as later celebrated in honour of Rome as well as of Eros. Since the date is Augustan, it is legitimate to suspect here further evidence of the friendly relations with Rome that characterise this family.

7. [Ἀμ]εινοκράτεια Πολυκρατίδα[ο], | ἱερέαξασα,
Ἀρτάμιδι | Εἰλιθίῃ κῆ Λοχίῃ εὐχάν.

Jamot, 291–292 no. 2.

8. Μνάσιππος Ἀρχελάου τὴν ἐ|αυτοῦ μητέρα
Ἀμεινοκρά|τειαν Πολυκρατίδου, ἱερω|τεύσασαν,
Διονύσω.

Jamot, 292 no. 3.

Since both 7 and 8 concern a woman of the same name who had been a priestess, Jamot was probably correct to identify them as one person, though the use of the Boeotian dialect in no. 7 might suggest a previous generation. On the connection between the Ameinocratea of no. 8, at least, and the family under discussion, see below, on no. 11.

The same Mnasippus is also honoured by the people of Thespieae in Jamot, 292–293 no. 4. The inscription also connected with Mnasippus by Jamot, 293 no. 5, is too fragmentary to be of help.

9. [ῆ β]ουλὴ κα[ὶ ὁ δῆμος] | Μνασίππα[ν——]| Του
 ἱερῶτε[ύσανσαν "Ι]|σιδος καὶ ἀν[αθεῖσαν] | τῇ
 πόλ[ε]ι εἰς τ[ὴν τοῦ Δι]ον[ύσου] ἑορτ[ὴν——]

IG 7.1869; Jamot, 293 no. 6. Lines 2-3: [———] | Του Dittenberger, Μνασίπ[η]του Jamot.

Jamot, 310, associated this inscription with the family because of the name "Mnasippus" occurring elsewhere in it in connection with the cult of Dionysus (no. 8 above). That may be right, though since Jamot had not seen the stone his reading in line 3 is arbitrary.

10. ῆ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Λύσανδρον Πολυκρατί-|
 δου τῆς τε περὶ τὸν | βίον καλοκαγαθίας |
 ἔνεκα, ἀγωνοθε[τήσαντα] Καισαρή[ων]
 Ἑρωτιδ[ε]ίων Ἑω[μαίων] καὶ ἀρχιερα[τεύσαντα]
 ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων, θεοῖς.

IG 7.2517; Jamot, 293 no. 7.

The orthography of *Καισαρήων* favours a date early in the first century (cf. no. 5 above), and Jamot's suggestion, 310, that the Polycratides here is the client of T. Statilius Taurus (no. 6) may be right. On the date, see further below, on no. 11.

11. Φλαοῦιαν Ἀρχέλαν τὴν | καὶ Τειμοξέναν
 Λυσάν[δρου] <τοῦ> καὶ Δορκύλου θυ[γατέρα],
 ἱέρειαν διὰ βίου | Δήμητρος Ἀχέας, ἔκγονον
 δὲ τῶν τὸν Διό[νυσον] ἀναθέντων, | Φλάουιος
 Μόνδων Φι[λείνου] υἱὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ | γυναικα.

IG 7.1867; Jamot, 294 no. 8. Line 3: <τοῦ> *scripti*.

Dittenberger has been generally followed in making the woman honoured here the daughter of Lysander and "Dorcyron." While feminine names in -ον corresponding to masculine names in -ος are not rare (L. Robert, *BCH* 60 [1936] 206-207, and *apud* N. Firath, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* [1964] 160), "Dorcyron" is otherwise unattested. The feminine ending equivalent to -υλος, moreover, seems invariably to have been -υλις (M. Leumann, *Glotta* 32 [1953] 214-225), and indeed *Δορκυλῖς* is attested in this very family (below, nos. 13, 15). The difficulty can be removed by the assumption of a stonecutter's error, τοῦ omitted after *Λυσάνδρου*; Lysander will therefore have had a second name "Dorcylus," not infrequent in Boeotia (A. Plassart, *BCH* 82 [1958] 155), though like his

daughter he is mentioned in other texts with only his principal name (Jamot, 294–295 no. 10, cf. no. 10 above).

Two other inscriptions are known concerning Flavius Mondo and Flavia Archela (Jamot, 294–295 nos. 9 and 10): they do not supplement the information provided by the present one.

The evidence of inscriptions 6 to 11 can be combined as follows. Polycratides the son of Themio — or perhaps “Anthemio” — is attested early in the first century A.D. (no. 6). He in turn appears to be the father of an Ameinocratea, whose statue was dedicated to Dionysus by her son Mnasippus (no. 8, cf. no. 7): if that is correct, the husband of Ameinocratea was named Archelaus (no. 8). A Mnasippa attested as priestess of Isis and benefactress of the cult of Dionysus may be Mnasippus’ daughter (no. 9). A son of Polycratides, and so a brother of Ameinocratea, can be identified in Lysander, honoured by the council and people of Thespieae for his excellence, an agonothete of the Erotideia and high priest at his own expense (no. 10). Lysander in turn is probably identical with the Lysander, also called Dorcylus, who was the father of Flavia Archela also called Timoxena (no. 11): “Archela” recalls the name of Lysander’s brother-in-law, Archelaus. Lysander, Ameinocratea, and Archelaus will therefore have flourished roughly in the second quarter of the first century, and Flavia Archela, as the inscriptions imply, will have belonged to the first generation of her family to receive the Roman citizenship. The stemma of her family and her husband’s, illustrating its history in the Julio-Claudian period, can be drawn up accordingly (stemma 1).

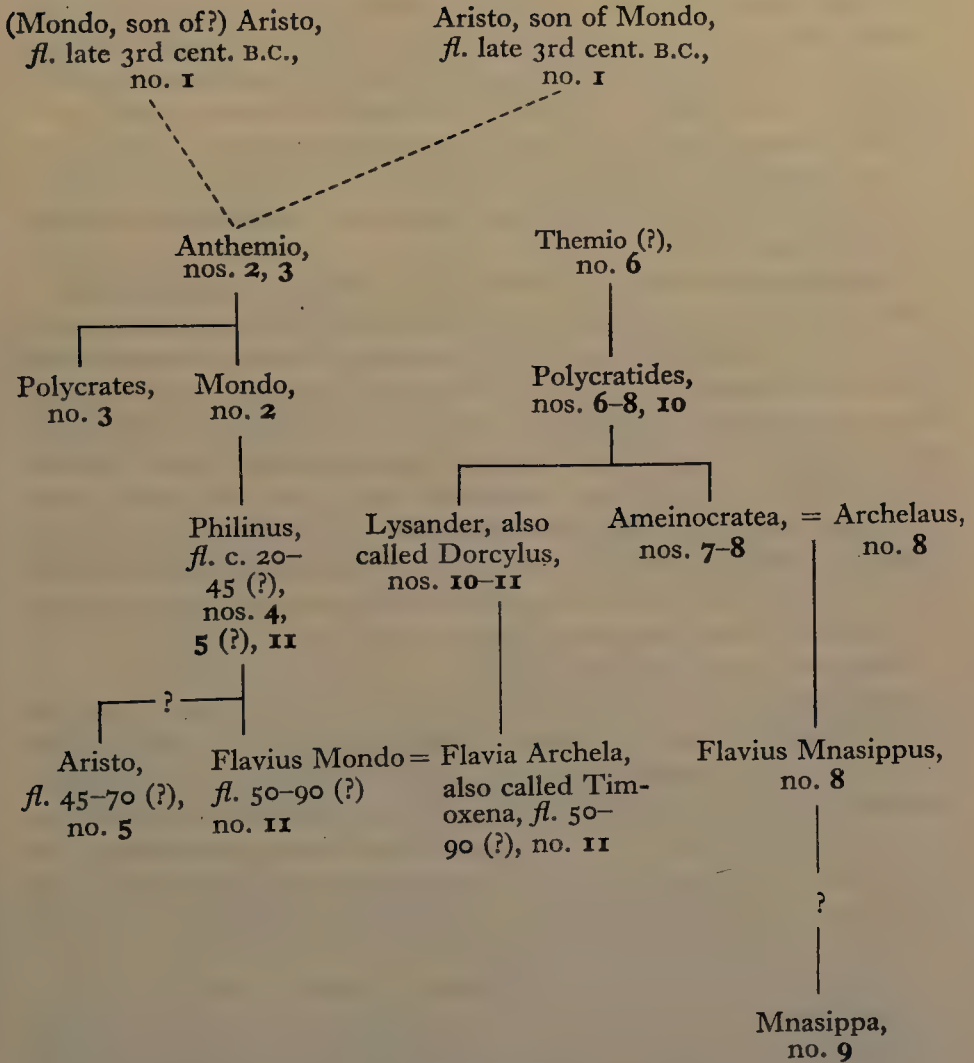
In the early Flavian period these two families, or two branches of the same family (see above, on no. 6), are united in Mondo and Archela, also called Timoxena. Their generation is also that of the philosopher from Chaeronea, Plutarch, who himself gained the Roman citizenship probably in the Flavian era.⁷ It is time to pause and consider the evidence for Plutarch’s acquaintance with this leading house of Thespieae.

Of particular importance is the dialogue on love.⁸ The main speaker, Autobulus, was long ago recognized as Plutarch’s son.⁹ He describes a

⁷ Plutarch was born c. 45, cf. K. Ziegler, *RE* 21 (1951) 639–640. Citizenship: obtained for him by his friend L. Mestrius Florus (*Syll.*³ 829A and n. 4, cf. *Otho* 14), a friend of Vespasian and consul suffect early in his reign (Suet. *Vesp.* 22; A. Degrassi, *Fasti Consolari* [1952] 21).

⁸ *Mor.* 748Eff. Edition and commentary by R. Flacelière, *Plutarque: Dialogue sur l’Amour* (1953).

⁹ Thus, following others, Ziegler (above, n. 7) 649.



STEMMA I

visit made by his father and mother to the Thespian Erotideia soon after their marriage; the dialogue itself, as recounted to Autobulus by his father, takes place outside Thespieae at the sanctuary of the Muses on Helicon.¹⁰ A large number of people are named among those present, and the conversation is depicted as taking place while a romantic episode unfolds back in the city: a wealthy widow in search of a husband kidnaps a shy and handsome youth.¹¹ While the narrative may be fictitious, the setting and the characters are clearly taken from life: one of the interlocutors, the Theban Pemptides, has recently become better known from inscriptions and turns out to be a typical member of Plutarch's society, a Roman citizen and local magistrate active in the imperial cult.¹²

The setting of the dialogue in itself shows Plutarch's acquaintance with Thespieae and its society; but there is more. It has long been noticed that one of the most sympathetically portrayed of the interlocutors, a cousin of the kidnapped boy, is Anthemio, "a man of standing," who bears a name attested in this prominent family of Thespieae.¹³ The fact that the youth's immediate family was not particularly rich, while the epigraphically attested one evidently was, is not important, since Anthemio need not have been closely related. More relevant is the fact that the name "Anthemio" does not occur in the inscriptions of the family after the first century B.C.; but then there are no doubt many other members of it who happen not to be attested on stone.

Other evidence, too slight to build on, is worth registering in connection with Plutarch's relations with this generation of the family. The second name of Flavia Archela, Timoxena, is also that of Plutarch's wife; and it is curious that Plutarch was particularly well informed about the rites of Grieving Demeter, Δημήτηρ Ἀχέα, of which Archela was the priestess at Thespieae.¹⁴ There is also an Aristo, a cousin and contemporary of Plutarch's father, who has the same name as a man known in this same Thespian family in the early first century (above, no. 5).¹⁵

¹⁰ *Amat.* 749B-C.

¹¹ Interlocutors: *Amat.* 749B-C. Kidnapping: *Amat.* 749Cff.

¹² Pemptides: *Amat.* 755E ff, and now S. N. Koumanoudes, *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀ. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* 2 (1964) 1-21 = *SEG* 22.413-415, 418.

¹³ On Anthemio, see especially *Amat.* 749C (ἐνδοξος), 749E-750A, 753B-C, 755C. Noticed by Jamot, 313-314, but ignored by Ziegler (above, n. 7) 669 and Flacelière (above, n. 8) 17.

¹⁴ Plutarch's wife: Ziegler (above, n. 7) 646. Grieving Demeter: *De Isid. et Osir.* 378E.

¹⁵ Aristo: *De soll. anim.* 965C. For the evidence that the speaker here is Plutarch's father, see Ziegler (above, n. 7) 644. If these two men are the same, the Aristo of *Quaest. conviv.* 612F would have to be a different person.

This evidence for Plutarch's acquaintance with this family of Thespieae is confirmed by one of the best known of his friends, Philinus. This man appears frequently in Plutarch's writings: he is introduced into conversations at Delphi, Hyampolis, and Rome, and is the narrator of the dialogue on the oracles of the Pythia, which also is set at Delphi.¹⁶ Plutarch does not name his friend's city of origin, for the fact that he once calls him *Φιλεῖνος ὁ ἡμέτερος* cannot be pressed to make him a citizen of Chaeronea.¹⁷ There can in fact be no doubt that he was from this same Thespian family, and despite the frequency of the name "Philinus" among its members he can be identified with certainty.

Several texts, to be discussed below (nos. 12-14), reveal a Flavius Philinus, son of Plutarch's contemporaries Mondo and Archela. Other evidence suggests that Plutarch's friend was junior to him; in one passage Plutarch introduces Philinus accompanied by his young sons, and the same man has also been recognized as the Philinus who set up a herm at Chaeronea to Plutarch as his *εὐεργέτης*.¹⁸ He will therefore be none other than the Flavius Philinus known from inscriptions at Thespieae. It is a familiar pattern: himself a member of a wealthy house of Chaeronea, Plutarch found his friends among his own class in the other cities of Greece and the Greek-speaking world. Men who sought to be remembered by their wealth and benefactions in the end found immortality in the pages of their literary friends.¹⁹

III. FROM VESPASIAN TO HADRIAN

Discussion of the epigraphical evidence can resume with Flavius Philinus and his descendants. Henceforth, surprisingly, the record is sparser than in the Julio-Claudian period; it is no longer possible to trace more than one branch of the family, and many details are uncertain.

12. *Φιλεῖνος Μόνδωνος καὶ Ἀρχέλας υἱὸς | ἀγνωοθετῶν
ἀνέθηκεν τὸν Ἑ|ρωτα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ προναίῳ*

¹⁶ *Quaest. conviv.* 638D (Delphi), 660F (Hyampolis), 727B (Rome). In *De Pyth. orac.*: 394Eff. Cf. *PIR*² F 330 (A. Stein); Flacelière, *Plutarque: Sur les oracles de la Pythie* (1937) 25-26; Ziegler (above, n. 7) 681-682.

¹⁷ *Quaest. conviv.* 727B. This is the inference of Ziegler (above, n. 7) 681, followed in the Loeb edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, 9 (1961) 166 n. (c). But the same expression is also used of a Roman, Avidius Quietus, *Quaest. conviv.* 632A.

¹⁸ *παιδία*: *Quaest. conviv.* 660D-F. Herm: *IG* 7.3422 = *Syll.*³ 843B.

¹⁹ Note Athenaeus' slip, making Philinus a vegetarian mentioned by "Aristotle or Theophrastus" (*Deipnos.* 44C): he had misread Plutarch *Quaest. conviv.* 660E, cf. K. Hubert, *Χάρτες Leo* (1911) 171 n. 1. Such things can happen: cf. A. E. Samuel, *Historia* 14 (1965) 11.

θυ|ρώματα ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, τό τε ἐε|[ρὸ]ν
ἐπεσκεύασεν.

IG 7.1830; Jamot, 302 no. 23.

Philinus is clearly the son of Flavius Mondo, himself the son of a Philinus, and of Flavia Archela (above, no. 11); the absence of Roman names appears to indicate that the family had not yet been granted the citizenship. Since Philinus is presumably an adult at the time of the dedication, and yet seems to have been junior to Plutarch, the family will have received the citizenship fairly late in the Flavian era, and this inscription will in fact be earlier than those which record his parents as Flavii (above, no. 11).

13-14. [εἰκόν]α Μόνδωνος παιδὸς πατρός τε Φιλείνου |
[Δορκυλ]ίς ἔστησεν σωφροσύνης ἔνεκα. |
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλήs) δ(ήμου).

(To right) τὸν γλυκύτατο[ν πα]|τέρα Τ(ίτον)
Φλ(άουιον) Φιλ[είνον,] | Μόνδωνος [υῖόν,] |
Φλ(αουία) Εὐπραξί[s ἡ θυ]|γάτηρ.
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλήs) [δ(ήμου).]

IG 7.2520-2521; Jamot, 301-302 nos. 21-22. Line 2: [Δορκυλ]ίς *scripsi*: [ἡ πόλ]ίς Dittenberger, Jamot.

These two inscriptions are carved on the same block and appear to be of the same date. Elucidation can begin with the couplet on the left, no. 13. The old debate about line 1, whether it meant "Mondo, son and father of a Philinus" or "Mondo the son and Philinus the father," can be bypassed. A. Plassart has observed that the usual supplement of [ἡ πόλ]ίς in line 2, which was made by G. Kaibel, is improbable; the sense requires a proper name, though Plassart did not suggest one (*BCH* 50 [1926] 434). The supplement is easily found; an earlier member of this family was called "Dorcylus" (above, no. 11), and the name "Dorcylis" has plausibly been restored in another inscription connected with it (below, no. 15). [Δορκυλ]ίς can therefore be suggested here, and παιδὸς πατρός τε will then construe without difficulty: Dorcylis was honouring her son Mondo and her father Philinus. The inscription on the right, no. 14, now complements that on the left. T. Flavius Philinus, the beloved father of Flavia Eupraxis, will evidently be the father of Dorcylis also.

The date is not easily assessed from internal evidence. But though the texts are few only two Flavii Philini are at present certainly distinguishable, the friend of Plutarch and the third-century senator

(below, nos. 17, 19-22), and the several monuments raised in the senator's honour always call him *κράτιστος* or *ὑπατικός*; besides that, his father was a Lysander. The probabilities therefore favour the usual identification of this Flavius Philinus with the friend of Plutarch (thus A. Stein, *PIR*² F 330), and the inscription will presumably date from the second quarter or so of the second century.

15. [Φλαουία Δορ] | κυλῖς Ἀρτέμ[ιδι] | Εἰλιθυίῃ | τὸν
ἕδιον υἱὸν | Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιο[ν] | Λύσανδ[ρον].

IG 7.1871 (whence the supplements); Jamot, 295 no. 11.

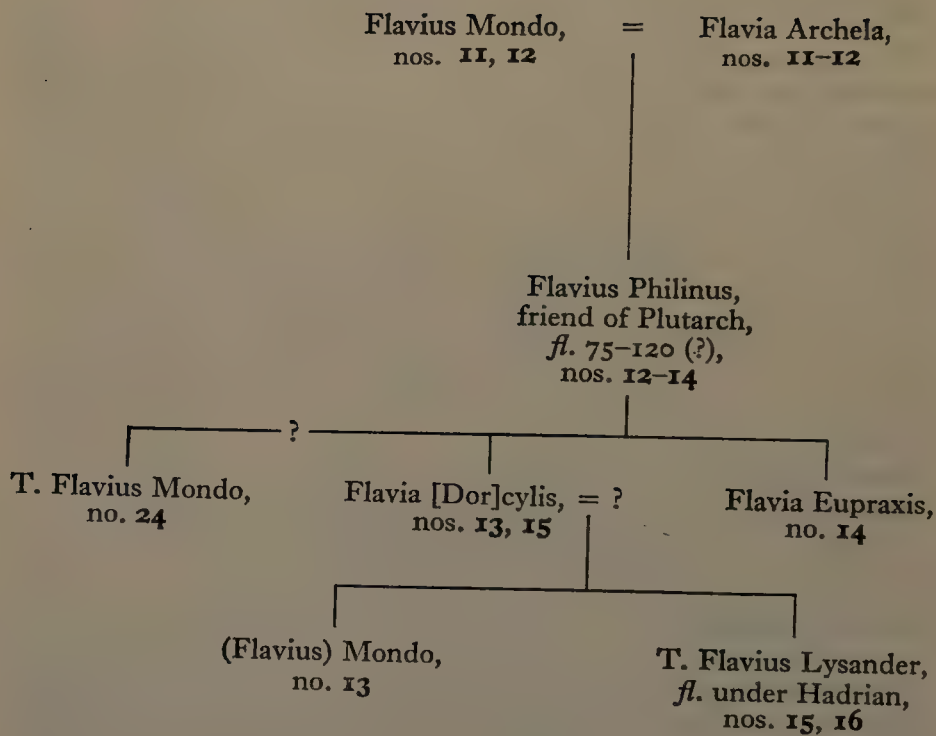
Dittenberger's restoration of the name "Dorcylis" has been rightly accepted: but there is no cogent reason to make this woman a daughter of the Lysander of no. 11. A T. Flavius Lysander is attested under Hadrian (below, no. 16); another man of the same name has been identified with him, but new evidence shows that he belongs to a later generation (below, on nos. 18-21). The style of the inscription, simple and lacking abbreviations, slightly favours the earlier Lysander (cf. Jamot, 311): with this coheres the evidence that Plutarch's friend Flavius Philinus had a daughter called "Dorcylis" (above, on nos. 13-14). It can be suggested that Plutarch's friend, born slightly after the middle of the first century, was the grandfather of this Flavius Lysander, and that Lysander in turn is the man of that name attested under Hadrian (below, no. 16).

16. Αὐτοκράτορα | Καίσαρα Τραιανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν
Σεβαστόν, | τὸν εὐσεβείας καὶ | δικαιοσύνης
καὶ φιλανθρωπίας νομοθέτην, | Τ(ίτος)
Φλάβιος Λύσανδρος.

Jamot, 295-296 no. 12.

The reasons for identifying this man as a grandson of Flavius Philinus the friend of Plutarch have been discussed above (on no. 15). In inscriptions of Cyrene and Megara, Hadrian is honoured as *τροφεὺς καὶ νομοθέτης*, and it has been inferred with plausibility that he had given laws to those cities (J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1960.438). It is unlikely that the present inscription carries the same implication. Certainly Hadrian visited Thespieae, and intervened in its affairs through a special legate (below, p. 247). But the vagueness of the language here suggests that Lysander intended to honour Hadrian for his general interest in law rather than for interference in the affairs of one city.

The stemma of the family in the period between Vespasian and Hadrian summarizes the conclusions reached above (stemma 11).



STEMMA II

IV. FROM THE MID-SECOND TO THE THIRD CENTURY

The history of the family in the time of its greatest eminence, the third century, has been substantially amplified by recent discoveries that make the stemmata of Dittenberger and Jamot obsolete. The most recently discovered inscription (below, no. 21) is also the latest in date; if correctly interpreted, it necessitates a complete revision of the family in its last generations. That, while it solves certain old problems, also creates new ones. The history of the family in the second century now becomes more obscure: in particular, evidence is lacking for its elevation to equestrian rank, a stage that almost certainly intervened before it became senatorial.

17. Τ(ίτον) Φλ(άουιον) Φιλεῖνον, τὸν | κράτιστον,
ταμειύ|σαντα Ἀσίας, τρι|βοῦνον, πραίτορα, |
πρεσβεύσαντα Κύ|πρου, ἀνθυπατεύ|σαντα
Λυκίας Παν|φυλίας, ἡ πατρίς τὸ[ν] | εὐεργέτην.

IG 7.1866; Jamot, 302 no. 24.

With this generation this family of Thespieae, apparently for the first time, enters the senatorial class at Rome. A *terminus post* for this inscription is provided by the fact that Lycia-Pamphylia was not governed by proconsuls until the late second century, probably at the end of Marcus' reign (thus D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* [1950] 2.1532-1533; A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius* [1966] 190-191, favours a somewhat earlier date). This Flavius Philinus will therefore be several generations later than his namesake the friend of Plutarch. It has been suggested that he was that man's grandson or great-grandson ("nepos vel pronepos," Stein, *PIR*² F 330; "nepos," Groag, *PIR*² F 331), but there is nothing in the inscription that precludes an even later date. It must be considered in relation to four texts closely connected with each other.

18. Φλ(αουίαν) Ἀμφίκλειαν | τὴν κρατίστην | Φλ(αουίου)
Ἀμφικλέους | θυγατέρα ἡ πα|τρὶς τὴν εὐεργέ|τιν.
ψ(ηφίσματι) [β(ουλῆς) δ(ήμου).]

Jamot, 303 no. 27.

19. τὴν γλυκυτά|την μητέρα Φλ(αουίαν) | Δημόκλειαν |
Τί(τος) Φλ(άουιος) Φιλεῖνος | ὁ υἱός.
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς) δ(ήμου).

IG 7.1868; Jamot, 304 no. 28.

20. (Delphi). Τίτον Φλάουιον Φιλεῖν[ον,] | τὸν κρᾶτιστον
ὑπατικό[ν,] | Φλαουίων Λυσάνδρου | καὶ Δημοκλείας
υῖόν, | Φλαουία Ἀμφίκλεια, | Φλαουίου
Ἀμφικλέους | καὶ Πλωτίας Ἀγησικρίτας θυγάτηρ, |
τὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ σεμνότατον ἄνδρα, | ψηφίσματι
Ἀμφικτ[υόνων.]

Chr. Dunant, *BCH* 76 (1952) 627–630 no. 3, with photograph, 628 (= *SEG* 12.265, *AE* 1953.51). Line 4: υῖόν the stone, υῖόν Dunant.

21. (Aedepsus). ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλήs) κ(αὶ) δ(ήμου). |
ἡ κρατίστη Φλ(αβία) Φιλεῖνα, | θυγάτηρ τῶν
λαμπροτάτων | ὑπατικῶν Φλαβίων Φιλείνου | καὶ
Ἀμφικλείας, Μᾶρκον υ | Αὐρήλιον Ὀλυμπιόδωρον, |
ἕκγονον Ἰπποδρόμου, τὸν | πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν ἄριστον,
τὸν | γλυκύτατον καὶ σεμνότατον | ἄνδρα, κατὰ
τὸ τῆς ἱερωτάτης | βουλῆs καὶ τοῦ σεμνοτάτου |
δήμου ψήφισμα τῆς Ἑστ|ιῶν πόλεως.

S. N. Koumanoudes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 21 (1966) 143–144, with photograph, plate 53β.

These four inscriptions concern three generations. The grandparents are T. Flavius Lysander and Flavia Democlea (nos. 19, 20) and T. Flavius Amphicles and Plotia Agesicrita (nos. 18, 20); their children are respectively Flavius Philinus, ὁ κρᾶτιστος ὑπατικός (nos. 19–21), and Flavia Amphiclea (nos. 18, 20, 21); the grandchild, the issue of this pair, is Flavia Philina ἡ κρατίστη, whose husband M. Aurelius Olympiodorus was an ἕκγονος Ἰπποδρόμου (no. 21).

For chronology the last item is the most important. "Ἐκγονος, like ἕγγονος, with which it is sometimes interchanged, is a vague term: usually it denotes a grandchild, but sometimes a great- or even a great-great-grandchild.²⁰ The reference to an ancestor by his bare name, with no mention of the intervening generations, shows that Hippodromus was a man of considerable eminence. It is in this style that a descendant of the Spartan dynast Eurycles calls himself ἕκγονος Εὐρυκλέους, or of Plutarch ἕκτος ἀπὸ Πλουτάρχου.²¹ Now the name "Hippodromus" is very rare: in fact it is practically confined to one city, Thessalian

²⁰ See J. Jannoray, *BCH* 70 (1946) 255–256. Note especially *IG* 5.1.971 and 1172, referring to the same man, C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus (*PIR*² I/J 302), respectively as ἕγγονος and ἕκγονος of the celebrated C. Julius Eurycles (*PIR*² I/J 301). In fact Herculanus was probably the great-great-grandson of Eurycles: cf. the stemmata, on this point not in disagreement, of G. W. Bowersock, *JRS* 51 (1961) 118 and *PIR*² 4 (1966) 209. See also the Addendum below.

²¹ Eurycles: see n. 20 above. Plutarch: *Syll.*³ 844 B.

Larissa.²² One man only of the name is distinguished in history or literature, also from Larissa: the celebrated sophist of the late second century who taught Philostratus and was recalled by him at length in his *Lives of the Sophists*.²³ That this is the ancestor on whom M. Aurelius Olympiodorus prided himself is confirmed by Olympiodorus' own name, for it was also that of the sophist's father.²⁴ Since ἑκγονος does not show that Olympiodorus was descended from Hippodromus through the male line, it is not certain that the citizenship and the names "M. Aurelius" were brought into the family by the sophist, though that is in itself likely enough.

The chronological consequences for the history of this Thespian family are considerable. Hippodromus' dates are known with some accuracy: he was agonothete of the Pythian Games in 195, still alive in 213, and had died at the age of 70 or so before the publication of Philostratus' *Lives* some time under Alexander Severus.²⁵ It follows that he was born about 150, and that an ἑκγονος of his, even if he was a grandson and not a remoter descendant, can hardly have flourished before about 225. Hence a rough chronology for the family of his wife, Flavia Philina. Her parents are likely to have flourished no earlier than the beginning of the third century, her grandparents no earlier than the late second.

The new dating provided by the inscription from Aedepsus requires a thorough revision in the later history of this family from Thespieae. In the most recent treatment, it was supposed that a definitive stemma could be drawn up in which the T. Flavius Lysander of no. 20 was identified with the man of the same name who flourished under

²² Apart from a mythological son of Heracles (Apollodorus 2.7.8; curiously, by a daughter of Thespius, the eponymous king of Thespieae, cf. 2.4.10) and from the sophist to be discussed in the text, I have found only the following certainly attested examples (some already in Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch* [1884]): (i) *IG* 9.2.461a, line 3 (Ἰπποδρόμ[ος], according to Leake's copy: now lost); (ii) *IG* 9.2.506, line 20; (iii) *SEG* 13.393, A line 2 (all from Larissa); (iv) a Thessalian buried at Athens, *IG* 2/3².8851; (v) *CIG* 2.2953, b line 26 (Ephesus).

²³ Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* 615-620, cf. K. Münscher, *RE* 8 (1913) 1745-1747. It is to be noted that *PIR*, which finds room for the most insignificant target of a Martial or a Juvenal (e.g., *PIR*² H 182, 184, 186, 187), ignores such major figures as Hippodromus or Euodrianus, a descendant of Asiarchs and professor of rhetoric at Rome (Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* 596-597). See also the Addendum below.

²⁴ Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* 615.

²⁵ For Hippodromus' dates, see Münscher, *Philologus* Supp. 10 (1907) 499-500 and *RE* 8 (1913) 1746; on the date of Philostratus' *Lives*, G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969) 6-7.

Hadrian (no. 16); the son of Lysander, Flavius Philinus, was supposed to have belonged to the late second century.²⁶ That remains marginally possible; it is far more likely that this T. Flavius Lysander is two or more generations later than his namesake.

The new chronology may also affect the identification of T. Flavius Philinus, the proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia (above, no. 17), and through him an item in the consular fasti. For it is tempting to assume that he and the *κράτιστος ὑπατικός* of the same name (nos. 20, 21) are one man, who went on from his governorship of Lycia-Pamphylia, like other proconsuls of the province, to a consulship.²⁷ Though some doubt must persist, that appears likely: if so, the governor of Lycia-Pamphylia will have flourished, for reasons already considered, no earlier than the beginning of the third century, and he will be an even remoter descendant of Plutarch's friend than his grandson or great-grandson.

Lastly, the new dating affects several uncertainties about Flavius Amphicles, the father-in-law of the consular Flavius Philinus. It is noticeable that Amphicles is never dignified by a title like *κράτιστος* (nos. 18, 20); his daughter, called *κρατίστη* in an inscription apparently earlier than her marriage (no. 18),²⁸ is called *λαμπροτάτη ὑπατική* in connection with her husband (no. 21), though she herself when honoring him uses no title at all, as might be expected (no. 20). The implication seems to be that Amphiclea was called *ὑπατική* not by virtue of descent from a consular family but as the wife of a consular husband, a practice that has been observed elsewhere.²⁹ Since Amphicles' granddaughter, Flavia Philina, was married to the descendant of a sophist who flourished in the late second century, Amphicles can be supposed to have flourished about the same time, if not later. Lastly, since his daughter is honoured at Thespieae for benefactions to her *πατρίς* (no. 18), like her husband the consular (no. 17), there seems no doubt that like him she was descended from a family of Thespieae. In sum, her father Flavius Amphicles was

²⁶ Chr. Dunant, *BCH* 76 (1952) 630; cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1954.143. Unknown to Dunant, Groag and Stein had also dated the second Flavius Philinus to the late second century, see above on no. 16.

²⁷ Of the eighteen certain proconsuls listed by Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950) 2.1600, four are definitely attested as proceeding to the consulate, M. Cassius Apronianus (*PIR*² C 485), Ti. Pollenius Armenius Peregrinus (*ILS* 8840), C. Porcius Priscus Longinus (*PIR*¹ P 643), ——— M. f. Primus (*PIR*¹ P 696), and one was already consular, C. Julius Saturninus (*PIR*² I/J 547). Dunant appears to take *ὑπατικός* in the Delphic inscription (no. 20 above) to mean "proconsul" (630; above, n. 26); the lemma of *SEG* 12.265 compounds the error by making Philinus proconsul of Achaëa.

²⁸ Thus A. Wilhelm, *SB Akad. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 166.1 (1911) 11.

²⁹ See J. A. O. Larsen, *CP* 48 (1953) 94 n. 4.

a native of Thespieae, not himself of consular rank, and flourished at the earliest in the late second century.

With this much established it is possible to test certain hypotheses about the several men called "Amphicles" and "Flavius Amphicles" who have variously been identified with the father of Amphiclea and with each other.

First, a Flavius Amphicles twice appears as a victor in games at Thespieae. In one list, apparently concerning the Erotideia, the victory was won with the κέλῃς πωλικός: the line in which Amphicles' name occurs is broken at the right, and hence the ethnic attached to the other names is missing.³⁰ In the other list, again from the Erotideia, Amphicles' victory is with the συνωρίς τελεία; the entry here is complete, and since no ethnic appears after Amphicles' name it has been assumed that he and the others who are similarly recorded came from Thespieae.³¹ But all those whose names are listed without a following ethnic have Roman *gentilicia* and were presumably Roman citizens, whereas all those recorded with an ethnic are named in the Greek style, with their fathers' names in the genitive, and several of these are explicitly styled "Thespians."³² Hence the division on this list is between Roman citizens and *peregrini*, and so the origin of Flavius Amphicles remains uncertain, even though his appearance in two separate competitions at Thespieae suggests that like many of the other entrants he was a native of the city.

The date of the two lists in which this Flavius Amphicles appears is only approximately determinable. The first is later than 70 because of the presence of Flavii, but earlier than the *constitutio Antoniniana* of 212 because of the appearance of *peregrini*. The second is earlier than 212 for the same reason, but it has a later *terminus post*: the inclusion of a "T. Aelius" indicates that it is later than 138, the year in which the only emperor with the names "T. Aelius" acceded, Antoninus Pius.³³ This Flavius Amphicles, therefore, competed in the Erotideia in the second half of the second century or early in the third, the period that has already been established for the *floruit* of Flavius Amphicles,³⁴ the

³⁰ A. Plassart, *Λαογραφία* 7 (1923) 180-182 no. 2, line 32 = *SEG* 3.335; republished with commentary and photograph by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 5-14. See also the Addendum below.

³¹ *IG* 7.1772, line 13. Thus Robert (above, n. 30) 7, also citing the fragment published by Plassart (above, n. 30) 182-183 no. 3 = *SEG* 3.336.

³² Thespians: *IG* 7.1772, lines 5, 9, 10, 12, 14. The same is true in *SEG* 3.336 (though there is no Thespian there), whether or not Plassart (183; above n. 30) was right in assuming it part of the same list as *IG* 7.1772.

³³ *IG* 7.1772, line 2.

³⁴ Above, p. 240.

father-in-law of the consular Philinus, and so the two Amphicleis may well be identical.³⁵ It would be appropriate for a man whose daughter married into this great house of Thespieae to be a competitor in the chariot races at Thespieae. Then as now, a stable of successful horses was an infallible sign of wealth: it will be remembered that Tiberius before his accession had been victorious with a chariot at Thespieae.³⁶ Similarly, the father of the sophist Hippodromus, whose descendant was destined to marry a granddaughter of Flavius Amphicles, was reputed to have the finest horses in all of Thessaly.³⁷

Yet another Flavius Amphicles comes into the reckoning, an archon of the Panhellenion that Hadrian established.³⁸ It has been suggested that he is identical with the father of Flavia Amphiclea, and such a position would not be unfitting for a man of wealth and high connections.³⁹

Lastly, there is Amphicles of Chalcis, the precocious favourite pupil of Herodes Atticus.⁴⁰ Chalcis and Thespieae were connected by the road that ran across Euboea from Creusae, the port of Thespieae on the Corinthian gulf, to cross the Euripus to Chalcis, and there will have been ample commerce between the two cities.⁴¹ Hence there is plausibility in the idea that Amphicles may have been related in some way to Flavius Amphicles.⁴² That would have established a certain parity between the family of Flavius Amphicles and that of his distinguished son-in-law, for Amphicles of Chalcis was more than a famous pupil of Herodes Atticus: he could also claim descent from consuls, as the poem that Herodes composed for his epitaph proclaimed.⁴³ It is certain,

³⁵ A. Wilhelm (11; above, n. 28) proposed the identification: Stein, *PIR*² F 201, denied it, citing *IG* 7.1772 but not *SEG* 3.335.

³⁶ See above, p. 228.

³⁷ Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* 615.

³⁸ *IG* 2/3².2957. M. N. Tod rightly argued that this was an archon of the Panhellenion and not of the city of Athens, as Graindor had supposed, *JHS* 42 (1922) 177: the point had already been made by Wilhelm (above, n. 28) 12. There appears to be no reason to date the inscription to the reign of Hadrian, with Kirchner *ad loc.*

³⁹ Stein, *PIR*² F 201. For a list of Panhellenes, including archons, see Tod (above, n. 38) 177.

⁴⁰ Philostr. *Vit. Sophist.* 578–579, 585–586; *IG* 12.9.1179 = *Syll.*³ 1240; *PIR*² A 568.

⁴¹ Road: J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'orient hellénique* (1919) 70. Note the man from Chalcis competing at Thespieae, *IG* 7.1772, line 16.

⁴² Wilhelm (above, n. 28) 12.

⁴³ *IG* 12.9.1179, line 5. Wilhelm recognized Herodes as the author, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (1909) 98, followed by Stein, *PIR*² A 568.

however, that Amphicles of Chalcis is not identical with any of the men called Flavius Amphicles, since he died in his very early youth.⁴⁴

Another inscription must be referred to the consular Flavius Philinus and his kin.

22. [— υυ — υυ — υ]πάτων ἀνέθηκε Φιλεῖνος |
 [— υυ — υυ — — υ] χοροστασίης |
 [— υυ — υυ — υυ —]ονα τ' Ἀμφίκλειαν |
 [— υυ — υυ —] πᾶσα τέθηλε πόλις. |
 [ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλής)] δ(ήμου).

Jamot, 302–303 no. 25 (“24” *per errorem*). Lines 1, 4, 5 restored by Jamot; lines 2 and 3 by A. Wilhelm (see below).

This text, from a stone representing the right-hand fragment of a statue base, was published with a minimum of restoration by Jamot. A. Wilhelm then subjected it to a masterly study and completed it thus (*SB Akad. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., 166.1 [1911] 1–9):

[Μούσαις ὕμνοφίλοις υ]πάτων ἀνέθηκε Φιλεῖνος |
 [ἔκγονος ἐνδόξων μνημα] χοροστασίης |
 [αὐτὸν καὶ Μόνδωνα περίφρ]ονα τ' Ἀμφίκλειαν |
 [ὦν δι' εὐεργεσίας] πᾶσα τέθηλε πόλις.

While Wilhelm's supplements have been justly praised, he himself did not claim that they were definitive, and they cannot be used as a basis for historical construction. The mention of Amphiclea (line 3) and of benefactions to Thespieae (line 4) strongly suggests that the dedicant is the consular Flavius Philinus, the husband of Flavia Amphiclea and probably the senator honoured as a benefactor of Thespieae (see above, nos. 17, 20, 21, and p. 240). There is no independent evidence that this Philinus was the descendant of consuls as well as consul himself: the title of ὑπατικός applied to men appears to denote tenure of the consulate and not descent from consuls. But it is possible that the inscription might be restored in some way that refers to Philinus' own consulate, κῦδος ἔχων λαμπρᾶς replacing ἔκγονος ἐνδόξων, for example. Finally, if the base originally carried statues of Philinus, his wife, and his father, as Wilhelm suggested, καὶ Μόνδωνα cannot be right: Λύσανδρόν τε would fit the metre and the facts, but again other restorations are equally possible. But whatever the original text, it clearly expressed the pride of a great house of Thespieae both in its

⁴⁴ Tod (177–178; above, n. 38) inclined to identify Herodes' pupil and the archon; Stein thought him separate from the father of Flavia Amphiclea but was not sure (*PIR*² F 201). The poem composed by Herodes (above, n. 43) refers clearly to his early death; Philostratus *Vit. Sophist.* 578 calls him a νεανίας.

benefactions to the city and in its honours won at Rome, epitomizing that double preoccupation of Greek aristocrats under the high Empire: with the obligations of nobility at home and with advancement in the capital.

There remains one inscription which cannot easily be related to known members of this family.

23. $\psi\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omicron\nu.$ | $\omicron\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\kappa\omega\mu\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$
 $T(\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\nu)\ \Phi\lambda(\acute{\alpha}\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\nu)\ \acute{M}\acute{\omicron}\nu\delta\omega\nu\alpha$ | $\Phi\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu$
 $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\beta\omicron\nu.$

A. Plassart, *Διογραφία* 7 (1923) 184-185 no. 6 = *SEG* 3.339.

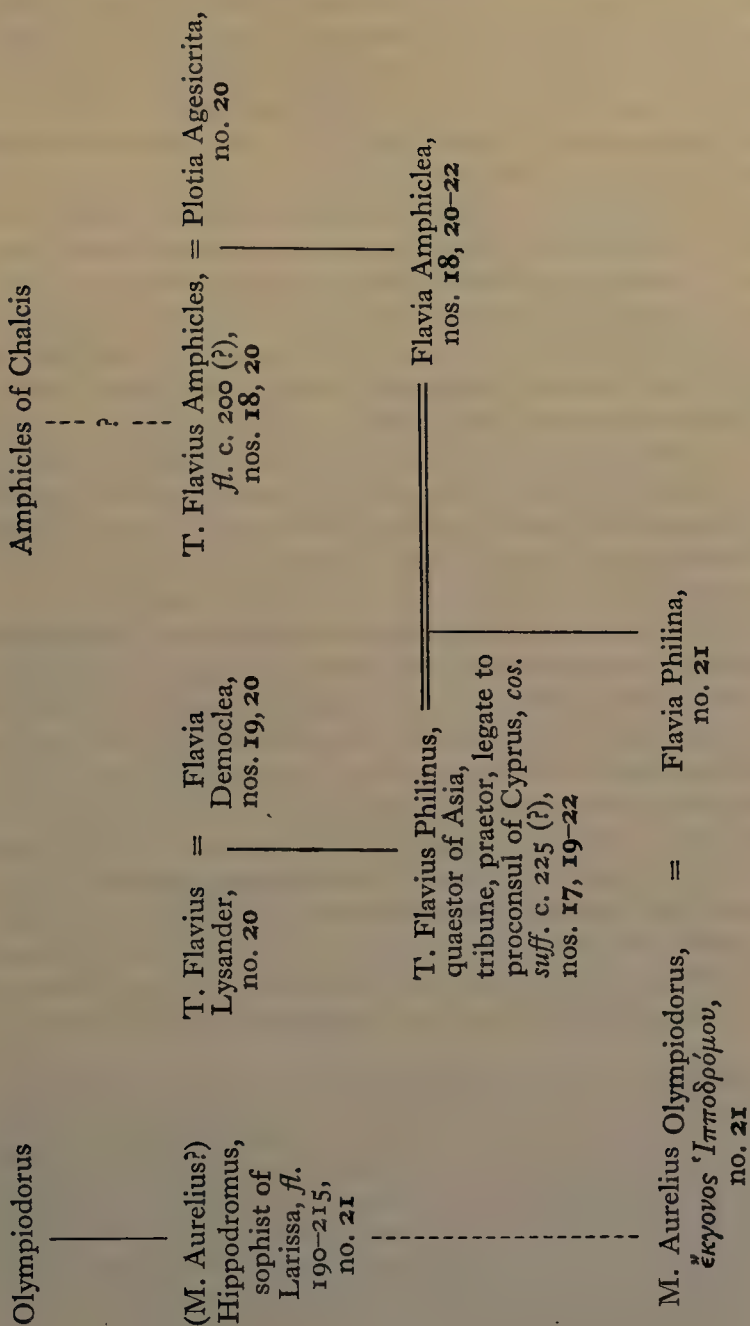
Jamot, 303 no. 26, is a fragmentary duplicate of this inscription. It has been argued above that the present evidence indicates the existence of two men called T. Flavius Philinus, the friend of Plutarch and the third-century consular (pp. 233ff and 237ff). The lack of the qualification *κράτιστος* or *ὑπατικός* argues against the second here: this may therefore be a son of Plutarch's friend, who certainly had sons (Plutarch *Quaest. conviv.* 660 D-F), or else the son of an unknown Philinus. The *ἐγκωμιασταί* are patently connected with the *ἐγκώμια* of the Muses and the reigning Caesar introduced into the *Museia* at some time in the first or second century (Fiehn, *RE* 6A [1936] 46): yet again this family is associated with the city's games and with the cult of Rome.

The stemma of the family from the Antonines onwards can be constructed to combine the evidence (stemma III).

The inscriptions and the literary texts combine to form a consistent record. But before the details are surveyed, the parallel history of Thespieae in the same period needs to be reviewed; only then does the history of one of its leading families come into perspective.

The public policy of Thespieae in the late Hellenistic period, the earliest in which this family is attested, is marked by the city's sympathy with Rome. At the beginning of the war with Perseus in 172, Thespieae took the lead among the cities of Boeotia in handing itself over to the Romans.⁴⁵ Its behaviour in the war between Rome and the Achaean League is not recorded; but, despite the support that most of the cities of Boeotia gave to the Achaeans, it is likely that Thespieae was not among them. L. Mummius showed his goodwill in the aftermath by sparing Thespieae's greatest treasure, the statue of Eros by Praxiteles, and it was

⁴⁵ Polybius 27.1.1-2. On the events, see G. de Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 4.1 (1923) 276-277.



STEMMA III

probably at this time that Thespieae and Tanagra, alone among the cities of Boeotia, were declared *civitates liberae*.⁴⁶ In the First Mithridatic War, again faced with a choice between Rome and her enemies, Thespieae was the only city of Boeotia not to go over to Mithridates' general Archelaus, and it was consequently besieged.⁴⁷

The conspicuously pro-Roman record of Thespieae is relevant to the fortunes of a family that advanced by its goodwill to Rome, and asks for explanation. Thespieae, with its important harbour of Creusae and its favourable position on an important commercial road across Boeotia, will have had a large class of wealthy citizens; and it was to such as these, with an interest in stability and the effective rule of the few, that Rome habitually looked for support. Moreover, the economic possibilities of Thespieae quickly attracted Italian businessmen, making it the only city of Boeotia in which such a community is attested.⁴⁸ The presence of such a group must have affected the city's relation with Rome; the parallel to Thespieae besieged by Archelaus is the Numidian city of Cirta on the eve of the Jugurthine War, when the resident Italians caused the city to shelter the pro-Roman Adherbal and it was consequently invested by his rival Jugurtha.⁴⁹

Thespieae had other attractions than those of commerce. Its two games, the Museia and the Erotideia, were already flourishing in Hellenistic times. In the Roman period, at least, they drew spectators and competitors from all over the Empire: Tiberius himself, then living on Rhodes, was among the entrants.⁵⁰ There was also the statue of Eros by Praxiteles, already mentioned as one of the antiquities spared by L. Mummius. Its later fate was not so lucky. Though it was still the great sight of the city in Cicero's day and "the only thing that brings visitors to Thespieae," by Strabo's it had apparently been removed to Rome. Either it was returned, to be removed again by Caligula, or else Pausanias is in error when he blames that emperor for carrying it off. Restored by Claudius, it was stolen for the last time by Nero and installed in the

⁴⁶ On these events, de Sanctis (above, n. 45) 4.3 (1964) 147-148. Eros: Cicero *II Verr.* 4.4 (also mentioning, however, *profana signa* that Mummius did take). *Civitas libera*: Pliny *NH* 4.25, cf. de Sanctis 4.3.181. Note the dedication made by Mummius at Thespieae (*IG* 7.1808), as in other cities of Greece (*MRR* 1.466).

⁴⁷ Appian *Mithr.* 29.112. Note the honours paid by the city to Q. Bruttius Sura, the Roman legate who conducted operations against Archelaus early in the war (A. Plassart, *Mélanges Picard* = *Rev. Arch.* 31-32 [1949] 830-832 no. 11).

⁴⁸ *IG* 7.1862; no. 3 above. Cf. J. Hatzfeld (above, n. 41) 69.

⁴⁹ Sallust *Bell. Jug.* 21.2-3.

⁵⁰ Spectators: see the analysis of L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 7-14, and cf. Plutarch *Amat.* 749B-C. Tiberius: above, p. 228.

portico of Octavia. There it perished in the conflagration of Titus' reign.⁵¹

Though the history of Thespieae in the late republic is unknown, the city's commercial importance and its loyal record may have protected it in some degree from the ravages of war and of economic depression. Thespieae and Tanagra, the two free cities of Boeotia, are also named by Strabo as the only cities in the region still flourishing in his day.⁵² With the general economic recovery of the early empire, the contrast between Thespieae and the other cities of Boeotia may have become less marked, but it continued to prosper: Plutarch gives a picture of a wealthy and thriving community, thronged with visitors at the time of the Erotideia.⁵³ Its importance is further indicated by Hadrian's despatch of a special legate there, for it was the particular function of such officials to examine the finances of free cities.⁵⁴ On his first visit to Greece as emperor, Hadrian visited Thespieae and after a successful hunt on Helicon made an offering to the local Eros, inscribing it with a poem of his own composition.⁵⁵ A long series of inscriptions, set up by prominent Romans or in their honour, stretches from L. Mummius down to Valentinian and testifies to the continued prosperity of the city.⁵⁶

The fortunes of Thespieae complement those of its wealthy citizens. Already public benefactors in the Hellenistic period, the members of this family were quick to befriend the Romans that settled in their midst and the powerful senators who had business interests in their city. Thus under Augustus, Polycrates son of Anthemio is thanked by the Roman community for being the first to endow it with a gymnasium and a supply of oil such as the Thespians already enjoyed (no. 2). In the same period a man perhaps related to him, Polycratides son of Themio or Anthemio, honoured his patron, the consul T. Statilius Taurus whose freedmen traded at Thespieae (no. 6). One of these two, Polycrates or Polycratides, may possibly have presided over the games in which Tiberius' chariot was successful.

⁵¹ Cicero *II Verr.* 4.4, 135; Strabo 9.410 (on which see Plassart, *BCH* 50 [1926] 406 n. 2); Pliny *NH* 36.22; Pausanias 9.27.3-4. Cf. G. Lippold, *RE* 22 (1954) 1797-1798.

⁵² Strabo 9.403, 410.

⁵³ Plutarch *Amat.* 748F, 749B-C.

⁵⁴ *ILS* 1067; Th. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2.2³ (1887) 858.

⁵⁵ Hadrian's visit: W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (1907) 157. Dedication: G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* no. 811 = *IG* 7.1828 = J. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques* (1960) no. 48.

⁵⁶ Mummius: *IG* 7.1808. Romans honoured at Thespieae: Plassart, *BCH* 50 (1926) 436-458 nos. 72-104. Valentinian: Plassart, *ibid.* 457-458 no. 103.

In the next generations, the tradition of munificence continues. A nephew of Polycrates, Philinus, builds at his own expense a colonnade in honour of the imperial house and Rome (no. 4). His son may be the Aristo honoured by the people of Thespieae for his excellent policies and for holding all the offices of the city with distinction. He had also presided over both of the city's games, the Erotideia and the Museia, the first now renamed in honour of Rome, and the second in honour of Livia, the widow of Augustus (no. 5). The descendants of Polycratides were also active under Tiberius and his successors. His daughter Ameinocratea was a priestess in the cult of one or more of the city's gods (nos. 7, 8), and his son Lysander is honoured by the council and the people of Thespieae for his mode of life and his benefactions: he had been agonothete of the Erotideia (this time named after the Caesars and not after Rome) and high priest at his own expense (no. 10). The daughter of Lysander, Archela, was equally generous to the city's cults, holding for life the priesthood of Grieving Demeter (no. 11); her husband, Mondo, was the son of the Philinus who honoured the house of the Caesars and Rome by erecting a colonnade.

The generation of Mondo and Archela is cardinal in the family's history. It was in their generation that it received the Roman citizenship. It was also now, in the Flavian period, that Greek literature began to be revived by the encouragement of Rome. In rhetoric this revival took the form of the movement later called the Second Sophistic; but other departments of literature were equally affected. One of the earliest and greatest writers to emerge in the new renaissance was Plutarch, and his friendship with this prominent family is symptomatic of an age in which wealth and culture were so closely connected. His closest friend among its members was the son of Mondo and Archela, Philinus, who like his ancestors proved a generous benefactor to Thespieae, making generous gifts to the local temple of Eros while he was agonothete of the god's festival (no. 12).

After the friend of Plutarch, the family's history is less well known. Particular benefactions — the tenure of local office or the presidency of the local games — are no longer recorded, and instead the family's benefactions are mentioned in general terms (no. 22). It may be that while it continued to support its city its real energies and ambitions were diverted elsewhere: even by the first century its wealth was presumably sufficient to permit its men to hold the Roman knighthood, as Plutarch did, with the possibility of service in other provinces. When the record becomes continuous again, probably in the late second century, the family's distinction has left the confines of Thespieae. T. Flavius

Amphicles competes successfully in the Erotideia, but he may also be the like-named archon of the Panhellenion. His daughter Amphiclea and his son-in-law Flavius Philinus, descended from Plutarch's friend, are thanked for their benefactions to the city (nos. 17, 18, 22): but Philinus is more significantly found going through the stages of a civil senatorial career, serving in Asia, Cyprus, and Lycia-Pamphylia, until he reaches the suffect consulate at Rome (no. 17). When his wife dedicates a statue in his honour, it is set up not in Thespieae but in the communal shrine of Delphi, and there is no mention of his local benefactions (no. 20). The same is true of the next generation: the daughter of Philinus and Amphiclea prides herself on her father's consular rank and on the fact that her husband is the descendant of a famous sophist, but not on benefactions to her native city, and she commemorates her husband at the fashionable watering place of Aedepsus (no. 21).⁵⁷

With this generation, about the middle of the third century, the family disappears from view. There may be several reasons: the chance distribution of the evidence, the extinction or the impoverishment of the family. It is observable that the period here assigned to the last recorded generation, the mid-third century, is also that of a general economic depression in the Roman empire.⁵⁸ Whether this depression merely caused the termination of the epigraphic record, or the family itself became impoverished or moved away, it is appropriate that a house whose fortunes had for so long been connected with Rome should disappear in the "dark tunnel" of the late third century.⁵⁹

APPENDIX

THE EPIGRAM OF HONESTUS CONCERNING A Σεβαστή

THE view has been taken in the foregoing that the Σεβαστή Ἰουλίᾳ whose name is twice added to the title of the Thespian Museia was Livia, the wife of Augustus, styled "Julia Augusta" after his death, and

⁵⁷ Also familiar to Plutarch: *Quaest. conviv.* 667Cff. Cf. C. Theander, *Plutarch und die Geschichte* (1951) 22-23.

⁵⁸ On this period generally, see M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*² (1957) 1 chap. XI; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* (1964) 23-36.

⁵⁹ Jones (above, n. 58) 23.

not his daughter, as Jamot and others have maintained (p. 226).⁶⁰ This question of identity is related to another one, that of the Σεβαστή who is celebrated in a poem of the Corinthian poet Honestus in an inscription of Thespieae;⁶¹ for it has usually and rightly been supposed that the reference in both instances is to the same "Augusta."

The view that the Augusta of Honestus' epigram is Livia and (an important corollary) that the "Caesars" mentioned in the same poem are Augustus and Tiberius is indeed held in the new commentary by Gow and Page.⁶² But their discussion overlooked recent work on this and other epigrams of Honestus, in which further reasons have been advanced to strengthen the identification with Julia.⁶³ To prevent a reversion to what was becoming the *communis opinio*, and because the evidence neglected by Gow and Page may in fact be argued to confirm their view, the question can be briefly reopened.

The poem of Honestus concerning a Σεβαστή, like the dedication of the consular Philinus discussed above (no. 22), was first published by Jamot and substantially improved by A. Wilhelm,⁶⁴ whose text may stand as the definitive one:

ἡ δόιους σκήπτροισι θεοὺς ἀνχοῦσα Σεβαστή
 Καίσαρας εἰρήνης διςσὰ λάλαμπε φάη.
 ἔπρεψεν δὲ σοφαῖς Ἑλικωνιάσιν πινυτόφρων
 σύγχωρος, ἥς γε νόος κόσμον ἔσωσεν ὄλον.

⁶⁰ Jamot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 154, 299-301.

⁶¹ First published by Jamot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 153-155 no. 4. The most important discussions since are: A. Wilhelm, *SB Akad. Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 166.1 (1911) 1-9; H. Dessau, *Hermes* 47 (1912) 466-471; E. Preuner, *Hermes* 55 (1920) 388-393; C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (1922) 362-365; W. Peek, *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (1953) 609-634; J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1955.119, pp. 224-226; A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology II: The Garland of Philip* (1968) 2.308-309. On Honestus see, apart from works already cited, W. Peek, *RE* 18 (1939) 470-471; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 13-14; *PIR*² H 192.

⁶² Gow and Page (above, n. 61) 2.308-309.

⁶³ In particular, Gow and Page take no account of the fundamental treatment by W. Peek, *Γέρας Ἀντωνίου Κεραμοπούλλου* (1953) 609-634 (= *SEG* 13.344-348). From reexamination of the stones, Peek was able to add new fragments to Honestus' couplets on Erato and Clio (Gow and Page nos. xv and xvi) and to show that the accepted order of the poems on the nine Muses, still followed by Gow and Page, was incorrect.

⁶⁴ References above, n. 61. In line 3, Wilhelm conjectured ἔπρεψεν where Jamot had reported ἔπρεπεν: it later emerged that ἔπρεψεν had stood in Jamot's original copy (Plassart, *BCH* 50 [1926] 449 n. 1), cf. the observations of J. and L. Robert (above, n. 61) 226. Hence ἔπρεψεν should no longer be treated as a conjecture, as it still is by Gow and Page.

The Augusta who boasts two Caesars, sceptred gods, has lit twin lamps of peace. She is well suited as a prudent companion for the learned goddesses of Helicon, for her wisdom saved the whole world.

Since the identification of the Augusta as Livia, with Augustus and Tiberius as the Caesars, can be reached by elimination as well as from internal evidence, the four other hypotheses that have variously been advanced are best considered first.

Three can be immediately dismissed. A. Wilhelm held that the Augusta was indeed Livia, but that the Caesars were her two sons Ti. Claudius Nero, later the emperor Tiberius, and his brother Nero Claudius Drusus.⁶⁵ Drusus was not a Caesar, however, far less a "sceptred god." H. Dessau toyed with the identification of Julia Domna as the Augusta, Geta and Caracalla being the Caesars; he himself, however, saw that the inclusion of Honestus in the Garland of Philip precluded a date later than about A.D. 40.⁶⁶ C. Cichorius in turn argued for Antonia Minor, with Gaius and Tiberius Gemellus, and hence dated the epigram between Gaius' accession in March, 37, and before the death of Tiberius Gemellus later in the same year.⁶⁷ But the shortness of the time allowed by Cichorius' theory is itself an argument against it since, provided they were reasonably informed about affairs in the capital, the Thespians can be presumed not to have inscribed the epigram after the death (whether by murder or suicide) of Antonia's younger grandson. Moreover, even the adopted son of Gaius is unlikely to have been praised in terms that so clearly imply equality.

There remain two views, one of which has now become entrenched in the usual works of reference, the other considered but rejected by Wilhelm and now propounded firmly by Gow and Page.

The first of these was advanced by the first editor of the epigram, Jamot: Julia the daughter of Augustus was the Augusta, and her two sons Gaius and Lucius the Caesars.⁶⁸ The proofs adduced by Jamot and others are based, as is right, both on the epigram itself and on other monuments of Thespieae.

⁶⁵ Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 4-9.

⁶⁶ Dessau (above, n. 61).

⁶⁷ Cichorius (above, n. 61), followed by A. B. West, *Corinth* 8.2 (1931) 16, G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965) 141 n. 2. Professor Bowersock informs me that he would now repudiate the identification.

⁶⁸ Jamot, 154-155; subsequently followed by Dessau, 470-471, E. Preuner, 388-393; for references see above, n. 61. Preuner's arguments were considered "endgültig" by Peek, *RE* 18 (1939) 470 — who later, *art. cit.* (n. 63) 633, inclined to Wilhelm's view. Further considerations advanced by J. and L. Robert (above, n. 61), p. 225, are now accepted in *PIR*² H 192, I/J 634, p. 299.

To begin with the internal evidence, the Augusta who "boasts" of two Caesars should, it is maintained, be their mother: an epigram of the contemporary poet Thallus, which in other respects as well is similar to that of Honestus, celebrates two youths as "twin lights" (δισσὰ φάη) of Miletus, and their city is told that it will never boast their equal (αὐχήσεις).⁶⁹ As the mother of the Caesars Gaius and Lucius, since 17 B.C. the adopted sons of Augustus, Julia could precisely "boast of two Caesars." The two princes would be "twin lights of peace," presumably, because of the promise they bore of continuity in the line of Augustus, and thus of assuring the continued "salvation of the world." The phrase would be even more appropriate after Gaius' eastern successes of A.D. 1/2;⁷⁰ but by then Julia had fallen from grace and was in banishment on Pandateria, so that the poem cannot be so late.

Arguments are added from the archaeology of Thespieae. Jamot was influenced to favour Julia by his own discovery of a multiple statue base, also found in the sanctuary of the Muses.⁷¹ This base, not published until 1926, turned out to be of semicircular shape, and had supported statues of the elder Agrippina, Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Julia, and Livia: all six statues were set up by the people of Thespieae, and those of Julia and Livia, as well as that of Agrippa, are explicitly dedicated to the Muses.⁷² It happens that another better-known monument from the grove of the Muses was of similar shape, the base containing nine statues of the Muses dedicated by the Thespians, with a poem of Honestus below each.⁷³ The epigram of Honestus in honour of a Σεβαστή can now be invoked. It too was found in the sanctuary of the Muses: it celebrated as their companion an Augusta who boasted two Caesars, with the statues of Julia and her two sons nearby. The conclusion that these three are referred to in Honestus' epigram appears confirmed.⁷⁴ The inscriptions concerning Aristo son of Philinus (above, no. 5), on the other hand, are not decisive. They show that the Museia were for a time celebrated in honour of both the Muses and a Σεβαστή

⁶⁹ *Anth. Pal.* 7.373 = Gow and Page (above, n. 61), lines 3428-3433. Ad-
duced by Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 6.

⁷⁰ See now the inscription from Messene published by A. K. Orlandos, *'Αρχ. Ἐφ.* 1965.110-115, lines 11-12 = *SEG* 23.206, describing Gaius as τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρώπων πάντων σωτηρίας τοῖς βαρβάροις μαχόμενον.

⁷¹ Jamot (above, n. 61) 154. For the base see Plassart, *BCH* 50 (1926) 447-451 nos. 88-89 = *AE* 1928.49-50, Ehrenberg-Jones², no. 76.

⁷² References above, n. 71. The inscription relating to Livia is fragmentary, and the word *Μούσαις* is missing, but Plassart's restoration appears certain.

⁷³ On this monument see in particular Peek (above, n. 63) 609-628.

⁷⁴ J. and L. Robert (above, n. 61) 225.

Ἰουλία; but while it is likely enough that this Σεβαστή is the same as the σύγχωρος Μουσῶν, nothing indicates that she is Julia rather than some other "Julia Augusta."⁷⁵

Powerful as the cumulative arguments appear to be, they raise grave difficulties, above all in the interpretation of Honestus' poem; while a court poet cannot be expected to use the precise language of an official document, his art required that his meaning be clear to his contemporaries.

First, Σεβαστή: Julia was not an Augusta. It is easy to point to instances in the Greek East in which Σεβαστός and Σεβαστή are applied on private initiative before they received official sanction, if they received it at all. One inscription only, constantly cited in connection with this epigram, refers unequivocally to the daughter of Augustus by the title, a dedication from Cyprian Paphos in which she appears as θεὰ Σεβαστή.⁷⁶ In all the other instances that have been adduced, the Augusta is more probably Livia.⁷⁷

Second, σκήπτροισι θεούς. Since the titles θεός and θεά are even more loosely applied than Σεβαστός and Σεβαστή, it is no argument against Gaius and Lucius that they were not emperors or *divi*. But σκήπτροισι, whatever precisely its syntax, is less ambiguous. The sceptre is the attribute of Zeus and his vicegerents, σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλεῖς.⁷⁸ If the poem of Honestus was written before Julia's fall in 2 B.C., the phrase would have to be applied to two youths of which the elder was at most eighteen and the younger fifteen.

Lastly, πινυτόφρων and νόος. It would be arguing *ex post facto* to maintain that Julia could not have been honoured for her wisdom at some date earlier than 2 B.C. But a princess in her twenties or thirties might expect to be assimilated rather with a goddess of beauty or fruitfulness: for Julia the usual divine counterpart is Venus.⁷⁹

Julia, therefore, cannot be referred to here. Within the limits provided by the inclusion of Honestus in the Garland of Philip, and with the presupposition that the Caesars are the sons or other descendants

⁷⁵ J. and L. Robert, *ibid.*, adduce the inscriptions of Aristo and argue that "Julie . . . était bien là aussi σύγχωρος Μουσῶν." Thence the misapprehension in *PIR*² H 192 that Julia is called σύγχωρος Μουσῶν elsewhere at Thespieae.

⁷⁶ *JHS* 9 (1888) 243 no. 69 = Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 7, *IGR* 3.940.

⁷⁷ See below.

⁷⁸ Hug, *RE* 2 A (1921) 368-372.

⁷⁹ *IG* 12.1.482; cf. the inscription from the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos already cited (n. 76). *IG* 9.2.333 (Mylae) shows a cult of Ἰουλία Ἥρα Σεβαστή; *PIR*² I/J 634, p. 299, following Kern *ad loc.*, inclines to refer this to Julia, but it is obviously Livia, cf. n. 85 below.

of the Augusta, the possibilities are exhausted. But there is a way out, which Wilhelm saw but did not take.⁸⁰ On the death of Augustus in A.D. 14, Livia was adopted *in familiam Iuliam nomenque Augusti*;⁸¹ thenceforth she was officially "Julia Augusta," though the literary sources continue to call her "Livia." Now nothing in the poem of Honestus compels the inference that the Caesars are the sons or the grandsons of the Augusta. Livia could not boast of two sons who were also Caesars and "sceptred gods": but she had the unique claim to be the widow of one emperor and the mother of a second. If Livia is made the Augusta, and Augustus and Tiberius the Caesars, all difficulties vanish.

Σεβαστή is then correct. Σκήπτροισι θεοί fits the first emperor and his first successor, and indeed these two appear with sceptres on contemporary works of art.⁸² "Lights of peace" is equally appropriate: peace was prominent in the propaganda of Tiberius as well as in that of Augustus.⁸³ Finally, the association of Livia with the "learned goddesses of Helicon" and the glorification of her νόος are also in keeping with imperial ideology. It is in this aspect that Livia is honoured at Athens as Πρόνοια and Βουλαία:⁸⁴ the frequent identification of her with Juno similarly expresses the inscrutability of a woman *deis quam hominibus similior*.⁸⁵ The statement that "her wisdom saved (or, has saved) the world" is equally paralleled in the typology of Livia. Dio reports that the senate voted honours to her after her death "because she had saved not a few of them" (ὅτι . . . οὐκ ὀλίγους σφῶν ἐσεσώκει).⁸⁶ At Samos her father is honoured as τὸν πατέρα θεᾶς Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς,

⁸⁰ Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 7-8. So it is not quite correct that Wilhelm had "already proposed" the identifications now urged by Gow and Page (above, n. 61) 2.309 n. 1.

⁸¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 1.8.1.

⁸² See Hug (above, n. 78) 371. For Augustus so represented on the *Gemma Augustea*, and Tiberius on the *Grand Camée de France*, see *Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume of Plates 4 (1934) 156-157.

⁸³ C. Koch, *RE* 18 (1949) 2430-2436. For Tiberius, cf. Velleius 2.126.3, 131.2.

⁸⁴ Πρόνοια: *IG* 2/3².3238 = Ehrenberg-Jones², no. 128; adduced by Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 6. Βουλαία: *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 464-465 no. 12 = Ehrenberg-Jones², no. 89, on which see now James H. Oliver, *CP* 60 (1965) 179.

⁸⁵ Velleius 2.130.5. Livia as Juno or associated with her: *Consol. ad Liviam* 304, 380; *ILS* 120 = Ehrenberg-Jones², no. 127; *IGR* 4.249 (Assos), 984 (Samos); and compare the marriage contracts on papyrus, in which the oath is taken before Livia's statue, ἐπὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς (thus explained by U. Wilcken, *Zeitschr. Sav.-Stiftung, Romanist. Abt.*, 30 [1909] 504-507). Therefore the Ἰουλία Ἥρα Σεβαστή attested at Thessalian Mylae can be taken to be Livia: Wilhelm (above, n. 61) 6, and above, n. 79.

⁸⁶ Dio Cassius 58.2.3. Note the ex-voto to "Juno Livia Augusti," made by a husband and wife *conservati* (*ILS* 120 = Ehrenberg-Jones², no. 127).

μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γεγονότα τῷ κόσμῳ, while a complementary text thanks her mother in the same terms.⁸⁷

In sum, the extraneous evidence confirms what Gow and Page had concluded from the epigram of Honestus itself: Livia is the Σεβαστή, and Augustus and Tiberius are the Caesars. And, as the "wise companion" of the Muses, Livia will also be the Σεβαστή Ἰουλίᾳ with whose name their festival is associated at Thespieae.

ADDENDUM

Since the present article was accepted for publication, some of the same topics have been treated by H. Müller, "Marcus Aurelius Olympiodorus, ἔκγονος Ἱπποδρόμου," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 3 (1968) 197–220, and the Editors have kindly allowed me to include this Addendum.

Müller concurs in identifying the Hippodromus of no. 21 above with the famous sophist. He argues, however, that ἔκγονος means "son," and hence that Philina the wife of Olympiodorus was born about 170, her father the proconsul about 140, and her grandfather T. Flavius Lysander about 100 or 110 (p. 201). The fact that ἔκγονος in such a context can only mean "descendant" should rather be taken as proof that these dates are too early by at least a generation. There is no obstacle to a later date, since Müller's assumption that Philina's grandfather is identical with the T. Flavius Lysander known under Hadrian (above, no. 16) has no basis.

Notably, Müller also discusses the various Amphicleis (pp. 213–215). He leaves open the identification of the pupil of Herodes Atticus and the Amphicles of *Syll.*³ 1240 and rightly observes that the victor at the Erotideia may be from Thespieae; cf. p. 241 above.

Müller's stemma of the family (p. 220) makes no change in that of Dunant (above, at n. 26), except to add M. Aurelius Olympiodorus and his supposed father and grandfather; cf. p. 224 above.

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⁸⁷ *IGR* 4.982–983.

THE TRUTH ABOUT VELLEIUS PATERCULUS: PROLEGOMENA

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THE conventional view of Velleius Paterculus is not apt to stimulate much interest, far less any sympathetic interest, in him, whether as a person or as a writer.¹ But the truth is that the standard accounts of Velleius are replete with misconceptions. The bluff old soldier, the nonentity, the ham-fisted amateur, the sleazy toady — all these diverse stereotypes are, in their various ways, considerably wide of the mark. It is time perhaps to suggest a serious and percipient reappraisal of Velleius Paterculus, as a Roman senator and historian, and a not insignificant representative of the age of transition through which he lived.

I. VELLEIUS' FAMILY CONNECTIONS

In narrating how, after Cannae, the city of Capua was handed over to victorious Hannibal, the Roman annalists evidently devoted much attention to Decius Magius, the leader of those few who remained "loyal" (to Rome), and a highly vocal opponent of the capitulation.² When Hannibal was received into the city, he was anxious to settle accounts with Decius Magius. It had been stipulated in the treaty that

¹ A. Dihle's article on Velleius Paterculus in *RE* 8A (1955) 637-659 (itself unfortunately flawed by a number of inaccuracies) provides a full bibliography up to 1951. The most important work of intervening date is I. Lana's *Velleio Paterculo o della propaganda* (Torino 1952), a valiant attempt by a historian of literature to operate in the areas of prosopography, history, and historiography, but marred by inordinate verbosity and an exaggerated central thesis: see, in addition to reviews, J. Hellegouarc'h, "Les buts de l'œuvre de Velleius Paterculus," *Latomus* 23 (1964) 669ff. Sir Ronald Syme's *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) contains thought-provoking, and provocative, observations on this, as on other Roman historians (see esp. 367f). I have not seen H. J. Steffen, *Die Regierung des Tiberius in der Darstellung des Velleius Paterculus* (diss. Kiel 1954), or R. L. Anderson, *The Rise and Fall of Middle-Class Loyalty to the Roman Empire: A Social Study of Velleius Paterculus and Ammianus Marcellinus* (diss. Berkeley 1962).

² Livy 23.7f, 10; cf. Cicero *Pis.* 24; Silius Ital. 11.157-258, 377-384, 13.28of.

no Carthaginian commander or magistrate should have jurisdiction over a Capuan citizen. But Magius was important enough to be made an exception. The senate of Capua was obliged to pass a special decree consigning him over to Hannibal's authority. He was arrested forthwith and marched off, still protesting, to the Carthaginian camp. From there he was quickly put on a ship for Carthage. However, he did not arrive. A storm blew up and the ship was driven to Cyrene. Magius escaped and claimed the protection of Ptolemy. Taken under guard to Alexandria, he was favourably received by the king, who granted him his freedom. But Magius chose to stay in Egypt rather than return to Italy. That is the last we know of him, unless we are prepared to believe Silius Italicus when he declares that Magius died in Egypt.³

This enterprising, almost Odyssean, character was the ancestor of Velleius Paterculus, if we may take the latter's word for it.⁴ Velleius has considerable pride of family and seizes any reasonable opportunity to advertise it in his historical work. As he remarks elsewhere, he does not feel obliged to deprive his own grandfather of a testimony he would give to someone else's.⁵ It would seem perverse to complain about his lack of reticence, when the result is that we are unusually well informed on his personal and family background and on his place in Roman society.

The pro-Roman tradition established by Decius Magius⁶ emerges again with his descendant Minatus Magius, nearly 130 years later. According to our text of Velleius, this Minatus was grandson of Decius, and great-great-great-grandfather of Velleius himself.⁷ There appears to be something amiss. On chronological grounds it is more

³ Silius 11.383f:

atque eadem vitae custos mox deinde quieto
accepit tellus ossa inviolata sepulcro.

The fact is not noted by Livy. It may be no more than an inference from Livy's report of Magius' reply to Ptolemy: *nusquam malle quam in regno eius vivere, quem vindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis* (23.10.13).

⁴ Velleius 2.16.2.

⁵ *Ibid.* 2.76.1.

⁶ Münzer (*RE* 14.441 s.v. Magius 12) pronounced that the anti-Roman Cn. Magius Atellanus, *meddix tuticus* of Capua in 214 (Livy 24.19.1f), was a relative of Decius Magius, as well as a political opponent (accepted by Lana, *Velleio* 57 n. 1). But the *nomen* is the only evidence for the alleged relationship. It is not enough.

⁷ Velleius 2.16.2, *quippe multum Minati Magii, atavi mei, Aeculanensis, tribuendum est memoriae, qui nepos Decii Magii, Campanorum principis, celeberrimi et fidelissimi viri . . .*

likely that Minatus was Decius' great-grandson.⁸ It seems impossible that Velleius should have made a mistake about the relationship of two prominent members of his own family. The word *nepos* in our text had better be emended to *pronepos*.⁹

By the time of Minatus, the Magii had established themselves in Aeclanum, an important centre of the Hirpini. In fact they had become a leading family in the region.¹⁰ When the Italians rose in rebellion against Rome, Minatus Magius did not join them. On the contrary, he recruited an army among the Hirpini and fought for Rome: a fine example of the force of family tradition and the power of *clientela*.¹¹ He helped Titus Didius in the capture of Herculaneum, and Sulla in the siege of Pompeii, and himself secured the Hirpine town of Compsa.¹²

⁸ So Münzer, *RE* 14.439 s.v. Magius 5. Decius Magius, a Capuan *princeps* in 216 B.C., with a son able to accompany him to the forum (Livy 23.7.10), was probably born before 250. The son was perhaps born around 230. There is then a long gap to Minatus Magius, who can hardly have been born before 160, as he was commanding an army in 89. His sons were able to hold the praetorship before 80, so were probably born before 120.

⁹ Palaeographically an easy emendation, with corruption resulting from *compendia* (cf. the edition of F. Kritz [Leipzig 1840] *Prolegomena* xcvi, "alius, isque longe uberrimus, corruptelarum fons fuit *compendiorum scribendi usus*").

Because of the imbalance of generations — three for the 100 years or so from Decius to Minatus (if *pronepos*), but five for the 130 or so from Minatus to Velleius — the question might be raised whether there is not only one generation too few in the former case (with the reading *nepos*) but one generation too many in the latter: the imbalance could easily be smoothed out by emending *atavi mei* to *abavi mei* in 2.16.2. However, the pedigree from Minatus Magius to Velleius Paterculus must include a link on the female side of the Magii. That could account for a reduction of the mean generation interval (e.g. if a middle-aged Velleius married a juvenile Magia).

¹⁰ It could well be that Decius Magius, not one to waste his opportunities, had prospered in Egypt and rebuilt his family's fortunes.

¹¹ Velleius 2.16.2. The Hirpini in general were aligned with the Italian rebels (Appian *B.C.* 1.39, 51; Livy *peri.* 75; *De vir. ill.* 75.5). Cf. E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967) 344, 367.

¹² Velleius 2.16.2. G. Vossius' emendation, *Compsam* for *Cosam*, is clearly correct (though pusillanimously excluded from the Teubner text, 2nd ed. 1933, by Stegmann von Pritzwald); *Compsam in Hirpinis* occurs in a later reference (2.68.3).

Velleius does not say whether Minatus Magius had any part in Sulla's attack on his *patria*, Aeclanum. Münzer (*RE* 14.440 s.v. Magius 8) thought it probable. As described by Appian (*B.C.* 1.51), the treatment of Aeclanum was quite severe: they were forced to capitulate when Sulla started to burn down their walls, and the town was plundered. If Minatus Magius was present at this scene, Velleius' silence might be understandable. But it seems at least as likely that Sulla preferred to give himself a freer hand in dealing with Aeclanum by sending Magius to occupy Compsa.

His loyal service was rewarded with a virginal grant of Roman citizenship.¹³ This reveals that the citizen rights which Decius Magius, as a Capuan, must once have held in the Roman polity,¹⁴ had not been retained by the family.¹⁵

Minatus Magius' two sons were also honoured. Before 81 B.C. they were elected to the praetorship at Rome.¹⁶ Cicero happens to mention a minor orator, Publius Magius, tribune of the plebs in 87.¹⁷ He could well be one of the sons.¹⁸ An interesting career emerges: enfranchised with his father (and brother) in 89,¹⁹ immediately elected to the tribunate in the year of Sulla's first consulship,²⁰ and to the praetorship before Sulla's final victory. Another son of Minatus, Marcus Magius Surus, is recorded, appropriately, on an inscription from Aeclanum. At the time he was serving as *quattuorvir* of the *municipium*.²¹ It is eco-

¹³ Velleius 2.16.3, *cuius illi pietati plenam populus Romanus gratiam rettulit ipsum viritum civitate donando*. This implies a special vote by the assembly, not simply an enfranchisement under the *lex Iulia* (as Lana, *Velleio* 58). As a loyal Italian general, Minatus merited particularly honorific treatment, which would not have been achieved by an enfranchisement exactly comparable with that of the *equites Hispani* by Pompeius Strabo *ex lege Iulia* (ILS 8888 [= *ILLRP* 2.515], cited by Lana).

¹⁴ As *Campanorum princeps* he is likely to have been an *eques Campanus* and therefore a full Roman citizen; otherwise he will have had *civitas sine suffragio* (cf. T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 3.574 n. 3; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, Oxford 1939, 37ff).

¹⁵ Presumably they lapsed after Decius Magius' removal from Italy. It is clear that after the capitulation of Capua even a Campanian knight would have had to present himself at Rome in order to claim citizen rights (Livy 23.31.10f; cf. Mommsen, *Staatsr.* 3.576 n. 3).

¹⁶ Velleius 2.16.3. The *terminus ante quem* is supplied by the phrase *cum seni adhuc crearentur*, i.e. before Sulla's reform.

¹⁷ Cicero *Brut.* 179.

¹⁸ So Münzer, *RE* 14.440 s.v. Magius 10, followed by Lana, *Velleio* 59f.

¹⁹ Lana, *Velleio* 59, fails to recognise that the enfranchisement automatically entailed the enfranchisement of the sons, and needlessly supposes a separate enfranchisement of the latter "per la legge Plauzia Papiria."

²⁰ Nothing in Cicero, *Brut.* 179, justifies Münzer's paradoxical assumption (*RE* 14.440) that P. Magius was a "Parteigenosse" of his colleague M. Vergilius (or Verginius) — who moved to impeach Sulla! (on which see E. J. Weinrib, *Phoenix* 22 [1968] 41f). On the contrary, the ties between Minatus Magius and Sulla formed in 89 (if not before) provide an obvious explanation of the rapid entry of Magius' sons into public office at Rome.

²¹ *ILLRP* 2.523, C. Quinctius C. f. Valg(us), patron(us) munic(ipi), M. Magi(us) Min. f. Surus, A. Patlaci(us) Q. f., IIIIvir(i) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) portas, turreis, moiros turreisque aequas qum moiro faciundum coiraverunt.

The rebuilding of the town's fortifications was evidently made necessary by

nomical to assume that he is the other son mentioned by Velleius as elected praetor before 81.²²

The Magii of Aeclanum could not maintain the momentum of their brilliant entry into Roman public life. Even Velleius finds no further excuse to insert them in his record, unless we count the historian's own brother whose name, Magius Celer Velleianus,²³ indicates adoption by a Magius.²⁴

Velleius does not mention Numerius Magius (of Cremona), who served Gnaeus Pompeius as *praefectus fabrum* in 49 and played a small part at the beginning of Caesar's Civil War.²⁵ It is nevertheless conceivable, for a reason that will appear shortly, that he was in some way related to the family.²⁶ By contrast, it can hardly be doubted that the distinguished equestrian administrator of Augustan date, Marcus Magius Maximus, was a near relation of Velleius. The evidence is a brief but informative inscription from Aeclanum: *M. Magio M. f.*

the damage Sulla inflicted (Appian *B.C.* 1.51; above, n. 12). But it would be illegitimate to infer from that a date soon after 89 for the inscription.

²² This is better than making M. Magius Surus a third son of Minatus and then conjecturing that the other son, of praetorian rank, was L. Magius, officer under Cn. Flavius Fimbria in 85 (as Lana, *Velleio* 60, following a stray suggestion of Münzer's *RE* 14.439 s.v. Magius 6). That would pose a difficulty about L. Magius' career. The army in which he was an officer went out east in 86 (under L. Valerius Flaccus, the consul suffect: Broughton, *MRR* 2.53). Hence he could not have been praetor later than 86, and it is unlikely he held the office in that year. But if he were Minatus' son, he could not have been praetor earlier than 87. Thus he would have to be a praetor of 87, and there would be no time for him to have held an office before the praetorship, as he must have done.

²³ Velleius 2.115.1 (cf. 2.121.3, 124.4).

²⁴ Lana, *Velleio* 61, conjectures that "Celer" may have been adopted by M. Magius Maximus. But in that case we should expect his name to be (M.) Magius *Maximus* Velleianus. There appear to be two other possibilities: either "Velleius Celer" was adopted by a *cognomen*-less Magius, and kept his original *cognomen* (thus Dihle, *RE* 8A.639, states — as a fact! — that he was adopted by his grandfather, and suggests that the grandfather was Numerius Magius: these are merely possibilities, cf. n. 35); or Velleius (——?) was adopted by a Magius Celer. It is an obvious inference, in any event, that the Magius who adopted Velleius' brother belonged to the family descended from Minatus Magius, and was related to the man he adopted. (Another, apparently adopted, Magius of the Tiberian period was Magius Caecilianus, praetor A.D. 21, exonerated from a *maiestas* charge, Tacitus *Ann.* 3.37; cf. Dio 57.21.2; Weinrib (above, n. 20) 48; but there is no evidence to connect him with Velleius' Magii).

²⁵ Caesar, *B.C.* 1.24.4f, 1.26.2; Cicero *Att.* 9.7C.2, 9.13.8, 9.13A.1; cf. Münzer, *RE* 14.440 s.v. Magius 9; *MRR* 2.265, 271.

²⁶ See n. 35.

Maximo praef. Aegypti Tarraconenses.²⁷ It shows that Aeclanum was the *patria* of Magius Maximus and so makes it probable that he was a descendant of Minatus Magius.²⁸ His Prefecture of Egypt in the later years of Augustus is well attested.²⁹ The dedication by the Tarraconensians makes it safe to conjecture a previous stage of his career — procurator in Hispania Citerior. “Magius was highly respectable.”³⁰ Plainly, the connection with this eminent and influential public servant, who enjoyed the confidence of Augustus to a high degree,³¹ was no hindrance to Velleius and his brother in the pursuit of their careers.

On the Magian side of his pedigree then, Velleius Paterculus was attached to the Italian gentry, the class which had risen steadily through the “Roman Revolution” and had triumphed with the victory of Augustus.³²

On the paternal side, the historian takes us back only as far as his grandfather, Gaius Velleius.³³ This illustrious Roman knight served Gnaeus Pompeius in the key post of *praefectus fabrum*.³⁴ It appears more than coincidence that, as we saw, a Magius held the same position under Pompeius at the beginning of the Civil War.³⁵ Gaius Velleius was without doubt a highly respectable gentleman. As his grandson does not fail to point out, he occupied an honoured place on the list of 360 special *iudices* selected by Pompeius to combat the corruption and

²⁷ *ILS* 1335.

²⁸ Cf. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939, 1952) 383 n. 3. Since he was Marcus, son of Marcus, there is a good chance that Marcus Magius Surus was his grandfather.

²⁹ Cf. A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Ägypten* (Bern 1950) 22f; *id.*, *RE* 14.442 s.v. Magius 18; O. W. Reinmuth, *A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt* (in *BASP* 4 [1967]) 77f.

³⁰ Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 356, placing him in the Italian aristocracy.

³¹ Cf. Philo *Flacc.* 74 (twice appointed Prefect of Egypt).

³² Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 359ff. Lana’s generalization, “nella famiglia materna era tradizionale l’atteggiamento favorevole al partito democratico” (*Velleio* 62, following Münzer, *RE* 14.438), adheres to an exploded conception of late Republican politics, and is inaccurate within its own terms (cf. n. 20 above).

³³ Velleius 2.76.1.

³⁴ Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 355, on the importance of this prefecture in Caesar’s age.

³⁵ Since we do not know at what stage the Velleii married into the Magii (though Dihle, *RE* 8A.638, takes it for granted that Velleius Paterculus’ mother was a Magia), it would be impossible to decide whether the fact that both N. Magius and C. Velleius were *praefecti fabrum* of Pompeius resulted from, or led to, a marriage connection (if any). It is rash to claim N. Magius as Velleius Paterculus’ grandfather (as Dihle, *RE* 8A.639), implying that C. Velleius’ son married N. Magius’ daughter. There are other possibilities.

turbulence of the year 52.³⁶ He was therefore one of the leading men of the equestrian order at that time. It is a curious commentary on the unevenness of our information about so well documented a period as the age of Cicero that we never hear of him from contemporary sources. His place of origin is not mentioned by his grandson. Campania, where Velleii are attested,³⁷ is a natural conjecture.³⁸ However, we should not ignore the existence of a Gaius Velleius in a previous generation — the man whom Cicero selects, in the *De natura deorum*, to represent the Epicurean point of view. He was a Roman senator in 77 B.C., and he came from Latin Lanuvium.³⁹ In accord with his philosophic persuasion he achieved no prominence in public life, and there was therefore no call for Velleius to mention him. The possibility of some connection between the two Gaii Velleii cannot altogether be ruled out. That it is rarely even entertained is mainly, no doubt, the fault of the lingering fallacy that a great gulf stood between the senatorial and equestrian orders.⁴⁰

The career of the equestrian Gaius Velleius continues to be interesting after his service with Pompeius.⁴¹ He is now found acting in the same capacity of *praefectus fabrum* under Marcus Brutus. Tantalizingly, his grandson does not tell us where, or when. There is a strong temptation to place him in Brutus' Republican army in Macedonia.⁴² Certainly, the preference of this *Pompeianus* for the cause of the Republic seems confirmed by the final act of his life. In 41, once again *praefectus fabrum*,

³⁶ Velleius 2.76.1, *honoratissimo inter illos CCCLX iudices loco a Cn. Pompeio lectus*. For these select *iudices* of 52 see Asconius 39Cl. The erroneous dating to 55 (F. W. Shipley, Loeb C. L. ed., 1924, xi; Dihle, *RE* 8A.638) comes from confusion with a consular law of Pompeius (Cicero *Phil.* 1.20, Pis. 94; Asconius 17C1).

³⁷ *CIL* 10.3924, 3927 = 8184 (Capua).

³⁸ Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 383; assumed without discussion by Lana (*Velleio* 15, "Marco Vinicio, anch' egli campano," 29, "suo correzionale"). There is no question about Velleius' special interest in Capua (cf. 1.7.2ff; 2.81.2), but this could go back to Decius Magius.

³⁹ Cicero, *N.D.* 1.15, 79; cf. *De or.* 3.21 (*familiaris* of L. Licinius Crassus).

⁴⁰ The possibility is mentioned dubitatively by K. Ziegler and Dihle (*RE* 8A.637, 638 resp.). The Epicurean Velleius is wholly ignored by Lana, *Velleio*. It may be conceded that he was almost certainly not a direct ancestor of Velleius (who would surely have mentioned a *senatorial* forebear, however quietistic!).

⁴¹ This service cannot be dated firmly. If we could be sure that Velleius' account of his career is chronological, the post of *praefectus fabrum* to Pompeius would come after his appointment as *iudex* in 52, which would bring it close to the prefecture of N. Magius.

⁴² The less attractive alternative is service under Brutus when he was *legatus pro praetore* in Cisalpine Gaul, 46–45 B.C. (*MRR* 2.301).

this time under the ex-praetor Tiberius Claudius Nero, he was involved in the attempt to overthrow the triumvir Octavian, the so-called Perusine War. The next year, when all was lost, and Nero and Livia with the infant Tiberius fled by boat from Naples, Gaius Velleius, *gravis iam aetate et corpore*, committed suicide. His grandson pronounces a grave and simple epitaph — *vir nulli secundus*. He also emphasizes Gaius Velleius' *singularem amicitiam* with the father of Tiberius Caesar!⁴³

The next generation of Velleii made their peace with the Revolution. There were two sons. One, (Velleius?) Capito, had already demonstrated an instinct for choosing the profitable course. When Caesar's assassins were tried in absence under the *lex Pedia* of 43, he acted as Agrippa's *subscriptor* in the prosecution of Gaius Cassius.⁴⁴ If his own father was then following Brutus, his proceeding is that much more interesting — but not exceptional, in days when men were proscribed by their relatives.⁴⁵ Capito is designated as a man of senatorial rank, but it is not wholly clear whether he had already attained that status before his *subscriptio*.⁴⁶ His brother (Velleius), the father of Velleius Paterculus, did not enter the senatorial order, but remained an *eques Romanus*. Of his apparently unnotable career we are told no more than this: that in A.D. 4 he was succeeded by his son, the historian, as *praefectus equitum*

⁴³ Velleius 2.76.1 (a remarkable example of a literary elogium).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 2.69.5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 2.67.3; Appian *B.C.* 4.12; Dio 47.6.2f; Plutarch *Ant.* 19. Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 192.

⁴⁶ Velleius writes (2.69.5) *quo tempore Capito, patruus meus, vir ordinis senatorii, Agrippae subscripsit in C. Cassium*. This should of course mean that he had senatorial rank at the time, but the interpretation depends on whether Velleius is writing with regard for precise accuracy. He was not going to mention Capito again, and it was obviously important to him to get in a reference to the fact that Capito achieved senatorial status (whereas Capito's father had remained an *eques*) — a parallel to the historian's own circumstances. The rôle of *subscriptor* seems more appropriate for a young man at the threshold of politics than for an established senator. Capito's brother (the historian's father) retired from equestrian military service as *praefectus equitum* in A.D. 4 (Velleius 2.104.3). He was presumably not over 60 then, so that his date of birth should not be earlier than 57 B.C., and in 43 his age should be not more than fourteen. To be a senator, Capito ought to have been over 30, according to Republican practice. Even if he had been one of those adduced by Caesar in 45 (Dio 43.47.5) — though why he should have been baffles conjecture — he must still, even with the assumed relaxation by Caesar of qualifications for entry into the Senate, have been close to 30 in 43 B.C. It is *possible* that he was fifteen or more years older than his brother. But a less exceptional pattern emerges if we suppose him a young man in his early twenties at the time of his *subscriptio*, by which he earned the favourable regard of the Triumvirs and early promotion to senatorial rank.

in the Rhine army.⁴⁷ He had therefore been serving under Marcus Vinicius, legate of Germania since about A.D. 1,⁴⁸ a highly significant connection. Presumably he had followed an equestrian military career for much of his life, though not necessarily without respite. When we consider the *singularem amicitiam* of his father with Tiberius' father, and the close attachment of his son to Tiberius himself, we realise that there was a family tradition of *amicitia* (the term *clientela* would doubtless be shunned) and that Velleius senior, too, had very probably served with Tiberius. There had been ample opportunity! Velleius gives rather disproportionate emphasis to the Spanish war of Augustus.⁴⁹ Perhaps this is an echo of his own father's participation as a young officer, serving alongside the still younger Tiberius.⁵⁰ Later may have come service under Tiberius (and his brother Drusus) on the northern frontiers of the Empire.⁵¹

II. VELLEIUS' CAREER

All these connections made by his father and other relatives were clearly important for the career of Velleius Paterculus, who enjoyed a reasonably swift promotion and, like his uncle, passed from equestrian to senatorial rank. Thus, it was under a Vinicius that he began his service, as a military tribune in Thrace and Macedonia about 2 B.C.⁵² While in the Eastern Balkans he may have come to the notice of Gaius Caesar, who visited the Danube provinces at that time.⁵³ At all events

⁴⁷ Velleius 2.104.3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 2.104.2; cf. R. Hanslik, *RE* 9A.116 s.v. Vinicius 6.

⁴⁹ Velleius 2.90.

⁵⁰ Cf. Suetonius *Tib.* 9.1 (26 or 25 B.C., *PIR*² 2.C941, p. 220). Tiberius, a *tribunus militum*, was only 16. Velleius senior was roughly about 30 (cf. n. 46).

⁵¹ There was also opportunity for other service under M. Vinicius, in Illyricum c. 14–13 B.C. and possibly later (Velleius 2.96.2f; Florus 2.24; cf. Syme. *Rom. Rev.* 390 n. 6, 400 n. 4; Hanslik, *RE* 9A.114f).

⁵² Velleius 2.101.3, *quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspicatus in Thracia Macedoniaque*. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 400 n. 6, and Hanslik, *RE* 9A.119 s.v. Vinicius 8, give 1 B.C. for the date of P. Vinicius' command (now known from *AE* 1960, 378, to be ἀντιστρατηγός = *legatus pro praetore*, not proconsul — as Hanslik, relying on the old reading [ῥ]πατραγός, *IGRR* 1.654). P. Silius' command would then fall in A.D. 1 (Hanslik), with the result that Velleius could not join the staff of Gaius Caesar till late A.D. 1 or A.D. 2. The chronology adopted in the text is easier, since Gaius Caesar left Rome for the East in 1 B.C. (Dio 55.10.18; cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 398, 428; *PIR*² 4.1216, p. 167).

⁵³ Dio 55.10.17 (2/1 B.C.).

he proceeded to join Gaius Caesar's staff on the Eastern mission, still with the rank of military tribune.⁵⁴ Perhaps he was present on the notable occasion when Tiberius came from Rhodian "exile" to visit his stepson at Samos. He declares that the young man treated Tiberius with all due respect.⁵⁵ A different impression is given by Suetonius, who says that Tiberius found Gaius Caesar somewhat estranged.⁵⁶ But, so far as concerns the external facts, the two versions are not incompatible.

The future historian was certainly an eyewitness when Gaius Caesar met Phraataces, king of Parthia, on an island in the Euphrates. In fact, it is clear from his description of "this spectacle of the Roman army arrayed on one side, the Parthian on the other, while two eminent leaders of empires and of mankind met in conference" that Velleius was on the island himself, enjoying a panoramic view as a member of the parade of honour.⁵⁷ He adds a detail: there was an exchange of hospitality, the Parthian being entertained first on the Roman bank of the Euphrates, then Gaius Caesar on the Parthian bank.⁵⁸

Velleius' first-hand testimony about Gaius Caesar cannot simply be dismissed as the outpourings of a "flatterer of Tiberius."⁵⁹ As we have just seen, he is not wholly antagonistic. Indeed, he is judicious. Gaius' conduct, he says, was variable. There was much to praise as well as a fair amount to blame.⁶⁰ The source of the *bad* was Marcus Lollius, the prince's chief adviser, a longtime friend of Augustus and an enemy of Tiberius.⁶¹ Sure enough, Lollius was proved a guilty man. At least, the Parthian king warned Gaius against him — and Lollius died a few days later. An intriguing business. Velleius professes not to know whether it was a suicide or a natural death.⁶² A generation later, the Elder Pliny provides more concrete information: Lollius had amassed an enormous

⁵⁴ Velleius 2.101.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 2.101.1, *cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit*.

⁵⁶ Suetonius *Tib.* 12, *alieniorem sibi sensit ex criminationibus M. Lolli comitis et rectoris eius*. (The epitomes of Dio, 55.10.19, place the interview at Chios instead of Samos.)

⁵⁷ Velleius 2.101 (the only evidence on the meeting).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 2.101.3.

⁵⁹ Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 429.

⁶⁰ Velleius 2.101.1, *tam varie se ibi gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna nec vituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat*.

⁶¹ Velleius 2.102.1; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 3.48, *quem (Lollium) auctorem Gaio Caesari pravitatis et discordiarum arguebat (Tiberius)*; Groag, *RE* 13.1385f s.v. Lollius 11; Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 428f; Lana, *Velleio* 146ff.

⁶² Velleius 2.102.1, *cuius mors . . . fortuita an voluntaria fuerit ignoro*. Lana, *Velleio* 148, declares that Velleius must have known, because he was in the same "ambiente." He does not explain Velleius' motive for dissembling his knowledge.

fortune in bribes from the kings of the Orient; he drank poison after Gaius Caesar renounced his friendship.⁶³ Although the causal nexus (accusation—*renuntiatio amicitiae*—suicide) seems clear and convincing, Velleius' uncertainty may be genuine. He was by no means an intimate of the principals concerned. It was one of the *arcana imperii* that a certain aura of mystery should veil such affairs.

Gaius Caesar went on to Armenia and did well, Velleius pronounces,⁶⁴ until the siege of the fortress Artagira. Here he entered into talks with the enemy without adequate precaution and was treacherously wounded.⁶⁵ The wound weakened him physically, and also morally: *animum minus utilem rei publicae habere coepit*.⁶⁶ He was encouraged in his weakness by yes-men.⁶⁷ (For *adulatio*, Velleius sagely observes — to the entertainment of his critics — is the constant companion of the great.)⁶⁸ Desiring, himself, to remain in the East and not return to

⁶³ Pliny *N.H.* 9.118, *hic est rapinarum exitus, hoc fuit quare M. Lollius, infamatus regum muneribus in toto Oriente, interdicta amicitia a C. Caesare, Augusti filio, venenum biberet, ut neptis eius (sc. Lollia Paulina) quadringenties HS operta spectaretur ad lucernas*. Velleius alludes elsewhere to Lollius' lust for gain (2.97.1, *homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidior*). Years earlier Horace had praised Lollius' hostility to, and freedom from, avarice (*Odes* 4.9.37f), thereby confirming rather than confuting the charges (according to the ironic Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 429).

⁶⁴ Velleius 2.102.2, *rem prospere gessit*.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. *I.I.* 13.1.245 (*Fasti Cupr.*); *ILS* 140; Dio 55.10a.6; Florus 2.32, 42.

⁶⁶ Velleius 2.102.2; cf. Dio 55.10a.8, ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἡρρώστησε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴδ' ἄλλως ὑγιεινὸς ἦν, ὅφ' οὐπὲρ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλὰ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη . . .

⁶⁷ Velleius 2.102.3, *nec defuit conversatio hominum vitia eius adsentatione alentium*. Was this a quiet reminder that L. Aelius Seianus had once been a courtier of the prince, *prima iuventa C. Caesarem . . . sectatus* (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.1)? (The connection was suggested by Professor E. Badian in discussion.) It is interesting to consider the parallel between Gaius Caesar's *adsentatores* encouraging him *ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet* (Velleius 2.102.3) and Seianus, who (*huc flexit ut*) *Tiberium ad vitam procul Roma amoenis locis degendam impelleret* (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.41, following the generally accepted account: *plurimos auctorum*, *Ann.* 4.57)

⁶⁸ Velleius 2.102.3; a commonplace of course, but its introduction here would serve to emphasize the covert allusions (cf. n. 67).

A younger contemporary of Velleius, the senator, rhetor, and historian Q. Curtius Rufus (cf. *AUMLA* 15 [1961] 30ff and E. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* [Oxford 1964] 263), is another who denounces *adulatio* (cf. *Hist. Alex.* 8.5.6, *perniciosa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum*) — and is denounced for *adulatio* (Tacitus *Ann.* 11.21). It is naïve to use this contrast as a reason for denying the identity of Quintus Curtius Rufus the historian and Curtius Rufus the senator (thus E. I. McQueen in *Latin Biography*, ed. T. A. Dorey [London 1967] 25 — failing to renounce the easy credit of sustained and scholarly dubitation).

Rome, Gaius eventually and reluctantly began the journey back to Italy, only to perish of sickness in Lycian Limyra.⁶⁹

Such, in summary, is Velleius' account of Gaius Caesar in the East. It is borne out by other sources.⁷⁰ To see Velleius as in some way playing the propagandist for Tiberius here would be somewhat far-fetched.⁷¹ One might rather say that in this matter it was safe for Velleius to tell the truth.

Years later he looked back with evident nostalgia to the days of his Eastern tour, when the world was young and gay and the Augustan empire was at its peak of expansion and prestige. "Achaea and Asia and all the eastern provinces I visited, and the mouth and both shores of the Pontic Sea. It is a keen pleasure for me to recollect all the events of that time, the places, the peoples, and the cities."⁷²

Having completed five years of service as military tribune,⁷³ Velleius returned to Rome (we may assume) and was able to witness popular reaction to Augustus' adoption of Tiberius on 26 June A.D. 4. According to him, it was wildly enthusiastic.⁷⁴

The same year Tiberius was sent to the Rhine to take over supreme command, and Velleius went with him to succeed his own father as *praefectus equitum*.⁷⁵ It was all a marvellously exhilarating turn of fortune's wheel, vividly recaptured by Velleius in brilliant prose.

⁶⁹ Velleius 2.102.3, where Stegmann's emendation *diu secum luctatus* for *diu de re luctatus* (Amerbach; *deinde reluctatus*, in the *editio princeps*) is questionable. Gaius Caesar's struggle was not so much with himself as with Augustus' wishes (Dio 55.10a.8f). Ruhnken's *diu deinde reluctatus* should probably be read (accepted by Shipley, ignored by Stegmann, who cites instead E. Thomas' *deinde diu reluctatus* — inferior because Velleius favours postposition of *deinde* heavily, the ratio being 36 to 4 according to my count).

⁷⁰ Seneca *Cons. Polyb.* 15.4; Tacitus *Ann.* 1.3; *Fasti Cuprenses*, I.I. 13.1.245 ([VIII. K. Mart. C. Caesar] *Aug. f. de[cessit in Lycia annum agens XXI]II . . . V. eid. Sept. bellum cum [hostibus p. R. gerens] in Armenia percuss[us est dum obsidet Ar]ta[g]iram Ar[meniae oppidum]*); *ILS* 140 (*ipsum vulneribus pro re pu[bli]ca exceptis ex eo casu crudelibus fatis ereptum populo Romano*); Dio 55.10.18–21, 10a.4–9 (more detailed than Velleius); Florus 2.32, 42.

⁷¹ Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 430 ("scandal has probably embellished the topic in the interests of Tiberius"). Even Lana sees no propaganda here.

⁷² Velleius 2.101.3.

⁷³ 2 B.C.–A.D. 3/4. It is hard to tell if he stayed with Gaius Caesar to the end. (Even if he did, he could have been back in Rome by April A.D. 4: cf. *ILS* 140.)

⁷⁴ Velleius 2.103.3ff.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 2.104.2f. M. Vinicius was succeeded by C. Sentius Saturninus (2.105.1). Syme can scarcely be acquitted of malice when he cites part of 2.104.2 (*in Germaniam misit, ubi ante triennium sub M. Vinicio, avo tuo, clarissimo viro, immensum exarserat bellum. et erat ab eo quibusdam in locis gestum, quibusdam sustentatum feliciter*) and comments that Velleius "is as cool about the services

"Of the true sentiments of the Senate and People when the Claudian returned to power, no testimony exists."⁷⁶ The eyewitness account of Velleius must therefore be false and worthless. But let us see what Velleius has to say.

The joy of that day, the concourse of the citizens, men's vows as they stretched their hands almost to the sky, their hopes for the perpetual security and immortality of the Roman empire, I shall scarcely be able to describe to the full in my large-scale work, much less can I attempt it here.⁷⁷

It is the rhetoric of the age.⁷⁸ Velleius gives the outward manifestations of popular reaction to the adoption of Tiberius. There is no reason at all to doubt that these things happened, that people behaved like this. If there were some senators who had other views (as no doubt there were), and some sections of the people that did not share the general enthusiasm, Velleius could hardly be expected to penetrate their private thoughts or advertise their misgivings.

I do not think (he exclaims) that it will ever again be given to mortal man to see a spectacle the like of the one I enjoyed when, throughout the most populous regions of Italy and the whole length of the Gallic provinces, men saw once more their old emperor, now Caesar in name as he had long been in merit and virtue. How they congratulated him, and even more themselves!

But when the army saw him, words cannot describe, and it may scarcely be believed, how the tears of joy sprang to their eyes, with what eagerness and wild exultation they greeted him, how avidly they strove to shake his hand, unable to restrain themselves from bursting out, "Is it really you, emperor? Have we got you back safe and sound?" Then, one after another:

"I was with you in Armenia, general."

"And I in Rhaetia."

of Vinicius as his personal attachment to the family of that general could with decency permit" (*Rom. Rev.* 431). It would be well to complete the quotation — *eoque nomine decreta ei cum speciosissima inscriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia*. Nor is it reasonable to scold Velleius for "omitting" L. Domitius Ahenobarbus as governor of Germania (*Rom. Rev.* 431; cf. Dio 55.10a.3). Velleius was neither compiling a prosopography nor writing a detailed history. (He has a complimentary mention of Domitius in 2.72.3.)

⁷⁶ Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 431, with n. 2, citing Velleius 2.103.5 so as to make manifest the author's inanity.

⁷⁷ Velleius 2.103.3f.

⁷⁸ Cf. Q. Curtius Rufus on the accession of Claudius (*Hist. Alex.* 10.9.3ff), and of course Pliny's *Panegyricus* on the accession of Trajan.

"I was decorated by you in Vindelicia."

"And I in Germania."⁷⁹

It would take a perverse and obdurate scepticism to reject entirely this graphic eyewitness.⁸⁰ It is all the more convincing because Velleius does not trouble to disguise the fact that the soldiers had thought Tiberius was finished and done with. Nor is there any reason why the volatile throngs of Italy and Gaul should not have welcomed the new heir apparent, as Velleius says they did. If there was dismay at Tiberius' resurrection, it was confined to those who had good cause: his former foes, at court, in the Senate, and elsewhere.

It behoves the historiographer to be reasonable in the demands he would make of a contemporary historian of Tiberius. The whitewashing excesses of modern apologists for the second Princeps are apt to provoke a negative reaction. But a blackpainted picture of Tiberius is not thereby justified, nor should we succumb to a facile contempt for a writer who gives a favourable view of the man, his career, and his administration. Velleius was writing against a background of hostility to the Princeps which had been growing since the death of Germanicus.⁸¹ It is not surprising that, with his personal admiration for Tiberius, he was impelled to overemphasize the laudable and play down the darker side. In his own eyes he was supplying a corrective to a biassed and distorted view that had become regrettably prevalent.

By his association with Tiberius, Velleius was now at the centre of the most important and crucial events going on in the Roman world. This is reflected in a sharp expansion of his brief narration. It takes him as long to cover the ten years from Tiberius' adoption to Augustus' death as it took for the previous thirty-four years, since Actium.⁸² We follow Tiberius (and Velleius) into Germany, warring down the stubborn tribes, crossing the Weser, making winter camp at the headwaters of the Lippe.⁸³ Even Tiberius' brief return to Rome across the snowbound winter Alps (A.D. 4/5) is noted.⁸⁴

The next year the Roman army advanced to the Elbe — which,

⁷⁹ Velleius 2.104.3f.

⁸⁰ Cf. Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 431, "the soldiers at least were quite glad to see Tiberius, a cautious and considerate general."

⁸¹ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 2.43.5; 3.14.4, 16.1 (the rumours about Tiberius' *occulta mandata* against Germanicus); 5.3f (the reaction to the attack on Agrippina and Nero Caesar).

⁸² Velleius 2.84-104, 104-123.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 2.105.1, 3. The necessary correction *Lupiae* (Lippe) for *Iuliae* is not received by Stegmann.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 2.105.3.

Velleius claims, had never been tried before.⁸⁵ Yet Drusus had penetrated to (but not crossed) the river and set up trophies there.⁸⁶ L. Domitius Ahenobarbus had crossed it marching from the direction of the Danube, and set up an altar to Augustus on its bank.⁸⁷ But it is strange that Velleius should make a patently false claim, at the expense moreover of Drusus and Domitius, persons otherwise in good standing with him.⁸⁸ It seems more likely that his statement trails tacit qualifications.⁸⁹ The essential meaning would be, not that 'Tiberius' army was the first to march to the Elbe, but that it was the first to achieve a real conquest of the whole region from the Rhine as far as the Elbe: a judgment that might still be objectionable, but at least would not be a blatant and ridiculous lie.

Velleius returned to Rome the following year (A.D. 6), having completed his *equestris militia*, and was elected quaestor, apparently being permitted to miss out the vigintivirate.⁹⁰ The influence of Marcus Vinicius has been detected in this promotion.⁹¹ The influence of Tiberius himself was presumably at least as potent.

Suddenly, a terrible emergency. While Tiberius prepared for conquest of the Marcomanni, Pannonia and Illyricum revolted bloodily in his rear.⁹² The panic at Rome was such that even the stout heart and veteran courage of Augustus, says Velleius, were shaken with fear.⁹³ He stated in the Senate that the enemy could be in sight of Rome in ten days unless precautions were taken.⁹⁴ Levies were held, veterans recalled; freedman were enlisted, senators and knights were asked to volunteer. Velleius himself, though still only quaestor designate, was

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 2.106.2, *quod numquam antea spe conceptum, nedum opere temptatum erat, ad quadringentesimum miliarium a Rheno usque ad flumen Albim . . . Romanus cum signis perductus exercitus.*

⁸⁶ Livy *peri.* 142; Florus 2.30, 31ff; Ptolemy *Geog.* 2.11.13; Dio 55.1.2f; *Cons. Liv.* 17-20, 311-314; Syme, *CAH* 10.363; *PIR*² 2.C857, p. 197.

⁸⁷ Tacitus *Ann.* 4.44; Dio 55.10a.2.

⁸⁸ Velleius 2.97.2f, *Druso Claudio . . . adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit vel industria perficit* (etc.); 2.72.3, *L. Domiti nuper a nobis visi, eminentissimae ac nobilissimae simplicitatis viri.*

⁸⁹ Its rhetorical quality, of course, intensifies its inexactitude (cf. *numquam antea spe conceptum*).

⁹⁰ Velleius 2.111.3.

⁹¹ Syme, *Rom. Rev.* 384.

⁹² Velleius 2.110.1f. See E. Koestermann, "Der pannonisch-dalmatische Krieg 6-9 n. Chr.," *Hermes* 81 (1953) 345ff, rehabilitating Velleius as a source for this war.

⁹³ Velleius 2.110.6, *tantus huius belli metus fuit, ut stabilem illum et firmatum tantorum bellorum experientia Caesaris Augusti animum quateret atque terreret.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 2.111.1.

commissioned by Augustus himself to lead a section of the relief army from Rome to Tiberius.⁹⁵ After delivering his detachment, he returned to Rome to assume his quaestorian office. But instead of taking one of the usual *provinciae*, he was sent back to Tiberius with the rank of *legatus Augusti*.⁹⁶

His reference to Augustus' excessive panic is striking and significant. It surely reflects the opinion of Tiberius. Through the emergency measures he had been burdened with a gigantic army — 10 legions, 70 or more cohorts, 10 or 14 *alae*, more than 10,000 veterans, innumerable volunteers, Thracian cavalry:⁹⁷ in all, over 100,000 infantry and 10,000 horse. It was too much. Tiberius sent the unnecessary and unwieldy reinforcements back where they came from, carefully escorting them out of the theatre of war. The controversy over this decision is recalled and reechoed by Velleius:

Everyone was pleased about the sheer size of the army, basing on it their most confident expectation of victory. But the imperator was the best judge of what he was doing. He preferred efficiency to show and, as I have seen him do in all his wars, adopted the course that *deserved* approval, not the one that merely happened to enjoy it.⁹⁸

Velleius writes here with understanding, intelligence, and insight, and without adulation. He penetrates to the essential Tiberius.

During the following winter (A.D. 7/8), a severe one, Velleius was in command of one of the divisions of winter quarters at Siscia.⁹⁹ He apparently fell ill. At any rate he describes at length the personal kindness of Tiberius to invalids: how his carriage, his *lectica* (*cuius usum cum alii tum ego sensi*), his physicians, his field-kitchen, his private portable bath, were placed at their disposal.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 2.111.3, *finita equestri militia designatus quaestor necdum senator aequatus senatoribus, etiam designatis tribunis plebei, partem exercitus ab urbe traditi ab Augusto perduxit ad filium eius*. The date of this mission must be somewhat earlier than 5 Dec. A.D. 6, when the new quaestors entered office; probably autumn (as Koestermann [above, n. 92] 357). It is likely that Germanicus was sent to Pannonia about the same time. Dio (55.31.2) says that he was then quaestor (καίτοι ταμειώντα). If Germanicus went before December, as seems well within the bounds of possibility, his quaestorship would be datable to A.D. 6 (as proposed in *Latomus* 26 [1967] 426) rather than A.D. 7 (as Dio at first sight seems to indicate, by mentioning the consuls of A.D. 7 in 55.30.6).

⁹⁶ Velleius 2.111.4, *in quaestura deinde remissa sorte provinciae legatus eiusdem (Augusti) ad eundem (Tiberium) missus sum*.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 2.113.1 (*XIII.sed AP*, emended to *XIII alis et* by Lipsius, to *X alis et* by Laurent).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 2.113.1f.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 2.113.3.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 2.114.1f.

At the end of A.D. 8 Tiberius gave the Pannonian command to Marcus Lepidus; he himself turned his attention to Dalmatia.¹⁰¹ Here Velleius is able to put in a word for the distinguished service of his brother, Magius Celer Velleianus, as aide and legate under Tiberius.¹⁰² Apparently Velleius himself continued serving with Lepidus. In the campaign of A.D. 9, which saw the end of the rebellion, they fought their way southward and joined Tiberius in Dalmatia.¹⁰³

Scarcely had Caesar put the finishing touch on the Pannonian and Dalmatian War when, within five days of the completion of that vast operation, dispatches from Germany brought the ghastly news of the death of Varus and the massacre of three legions and *alae* and six cohorts . . .¹⁰⁴

Velleius does not mention himself at all in the subsequent account of

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 2.114.5-2.115.1. Koestermann (above, n. 92), 370ff, infers from Dio 56.11-56.12.1 that in the early summer months of A.D. 9 the supreme command in Dalmatia was transferred from Tiberius to Germanicus; Tiberius was sent by Augustus to resume the command when Germanicus failed to make satisfactory progress (372, "das Experiment mit Germanicus als Oberbefehlshaber war also beendet"). For Velleius, however, Germanicus was "sent on in advance" (2.116.1, *magna in bello Delmatico experimenta virtutis in multos ac difficilis locos praemissus Germanicus dedit*), and even Dio, following his pro-Germanican source, certainly does not state that Germanicus had the overall command. Moreover, it was Tiberius who had the auspices and Tiberius who triumphed (Velleius 2.116.3, 2.121.3). Germanicus was only eligible for *ornamenta triumphalia* like the other *legati* subordinate to Tiberius (Dio 56.17.2; cf. Velleius 2.112.2, Valerius Messalinus; 2.115.3, M. Lepidus; 2.116.2, Vibius Postumus; *ILS* 921, M. Plautius Silvanus). In short, the "Oberbefehlshaber" was always Tiberius, even when he was absent from the theatre of war (cf. Velleius 2.115.4, *non iam ductu, sed manibus atque armis ipsius Caesaris . . . parati sunt*).

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 2.115.1, cf. 2.121.3 (he received citations from both Augustus and Tiberius).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 2.115.2. Koestermann (above, n. 92), 369f, objects to the phrase *tendens ad Tiberium imperatorem* on the ground that Dio 56.12.2 shows Lepidus had already arrived in Dalmatia before Tiberius returned from Italy. Now Dio says that Tiberius, arriving in Dalmatia, divided the forces into three divisions, assigning one to Silvanus, one to Lepidus, and taking the third himself (with Germanicus). But he had not previously recorded the assignment of the army in Pannonia to Lepidus. It is patent that he here records it belatedly, with Lepidus now in Dalmatia. (He also gives a strange reason for the tripartite division of forces: the fear of mutiny). It is preferable to follow Velleius — who was there. It may be true that, when Lepidus set out from Pannonia "to join Tiberius" in Dalmatia, Tiberius was not actually in Dalmatia, but still in Italy. However, *tendens ad Tiberium imperatorem* ought to be able to cover the idea "marching to where Tiberius was going to be."

¹⁰⁴ Velleius 2.117.1.

Tiberius' rescue operation to save the Rhineland after the *clades Variana*. Nevertheless he was there. By his own statement earlier, he was spectator and then assistant of Tiberius' superhuman deeds for nine (or eight) years continuously, from A.D. 4.¹⁰⁵ It is worth noting and emphasizing that Velleius does not invariably obtrude himself into the narrative.

He returned to Rome in A.D. 12, presumably.¹⁰⁶ He and his brother took an honourable part in the triumph which Tiberius belatedly held on 23 October A.D. 12 for the Illyrian War.¹⁰⁷ Velleius could now at last assume his seat in the Senate. He does not mention holding the office of *tribunus plebis* or aedile. There was time for him to be elected in 12 so as to hold office in 13.¹⁰⁸ But he might have been exempted from this step in the *cursus* because of his prolonged military service. In 14, at all events, both he and his brother were elected to the praetorship. They were on the list of *candidati Caesaris*, which meant certain election.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 2.104.3, *caelestissimorum eius operum per annos continuos VIII* (P, VIII A) *praefectus aut legatus spectator, tum pro captu mediocritatis meae adiutor fui*. His account of the catastrophe (2.117–120) is rather extended and detailed (though presented as only a summary, 2.119.1, *nunc summa deflenda est*). It clearly owes much to the stories of survivors encountered by Velleius in camp.

¹⁰⁶ I.e., if we accept the *editio princeps*' reading *per annos continuos VIII* in 2.104.3 (see nn. 105, 107).

¹⁰⁷ Velleius 2.121.2f, *in urbem reversus iam pridem debitum sed continuatione bellorum dilatum ex Pannoniis Delmatisque egit triumphum; Fasti Praenest., I.I. 13.2.135, 524f, [X K. Nov.] Ti. Caesar curru triumphavit ex Ilurico*.

On 23 Sept. A.D. 11 Tiberius and Germanicus were still in the Rhineland. After celebrating Augustus' birthday there, they returned to Italy (Dio 56.25.2f). It therefore becomes virtually impossible for Tiberius to have triumphed on 23 Oct. A.D. 11, in view of the time required for the journey and the preparations for the triumph. Moreover, it is clear from Velleius (2.121, cf. Suetonius *Tib.* 20f) that Tiberius did not return to Germany after his triumph. But Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.26) quotes Tiberius as saying *se novies a divo Augusto in Germaniam missum*: the ninth occasion must fall in A.D. 12, the others being 9, 8, 7 B.C. and A.D. 4, 5, 6, 10, 11 (cf. *PIR*² 2.C941). Suetonius, *Tib.* 20.1 (*a Germania in urbem post biennium regressus triumphum quem distulerat egit*), is indecisive for the date, but compatible with A.D. 12. Augustus' reference to τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου in Dio (Xiph.) 56.26.2 in A.D. 12 is a slight additional indication that Tiberius' task in Germany was not completed until that year. We may conclude that *per annos continuos VIII* (A.D. 4–12) is the right reading in Velleius 2.104.3.

¹⁰⁸ It is not likely that he held office in 14, the year in which he was elected praetor. (H. Dodwell, *Annales Velleiani* [Oxford 1698], reproduced in the Ruhnken-Frotscher edition [Leipzig 1830] xxxv seqq., maintained that he was *tribunus plebis* 10 Dec. A.D. 12 to 13, though with the help of some rather curious arguments.)

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.15; T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* 2³.926.

The list was originally drawn up by Augustus, but, his death intervening, it had to be formally confirmed by Tiberius.¹¹⁰

Praetor, then, in A.D. 15, aged about 33¹¹¹ — was that the end of Velleius' career of public office? He certainly did not reach the consulship.¹¹² But it would be remarkable if there had been no employment for an experienced officer after the praetorship. He mentions nothing, but he has only a few pages to spare for a brief survey of notable happenings during Tiberius' principate up to the time of writing. It is not surprising therefore that he himself disappears from view.

He writes as if he had been an eyewitness of the senatorial trial of Drusus Libo in A.D. 16, as indeed we should expect,¹¹³ likewise, of Germanicus' return from Germany and triumph, and his departure for the East, in A.D. 17.¹¹⁴ His mention of Drusus Caesar's success over

¹¹⁰ Velleius 2.124.3f.

¹¹¹ In 2 B.C., his first *stipendium*, he must have been past his 17th birthday, hence born 20, or early 19, B.C. This fits his quaestorian candidature in A.D. 6, when he must have celebrated his 24th or 25th birthday (cf. *Latomus* 26 [1967] 422ff, on the age for the quaestorship).

¹¹² At the time of writing his work he was approaching the age of 50 (A.D. 30 saw his 48th or 49th birthday, cf. n. 111), and any hopes he may have entertained of the consulship were dwindling fast. It is worth considering whether he had it in mind that the publication of the book might revive his faint prospects.

¹¹³ Velleius 2.129.2, *cum quanta gravitate ut senator et iudex, non ut princeps, causam Drusi Libonis audivit! quam celeriter ingratum et nova molientem oppressit!* There is a doubt about the reading *Drusi Libonis*. A and P have *et causas pressius audit*, and the above text is Madvig's emendation. A lacuna before *et* seems more probable. But the second sentence shows that Libo is indeed the subject under discussion. Concerning the form of the name, Velleius' version "Drusus Libo" (found in 2.120.3), implying the full name M. Scribonius Drusus Libo, could be correct. "Libo Drusus," the traditional form, actually occurs only once, when Tacitus introduces him (*Ann.* 2.27); after that he is plain Libo (*Ann.* 2.27-32; 4.29, 31; 6.10; also Seneca *Ep.* 70.10). Inversion of names is of course frequent in Tacitus (and indeed in Velleius): e.g., in the chapters on the Libo case, "Flaccum Vescularium," "Gallus Asinius" (*Ann.* 2.28, 32). In *Ann.* 2.27 the preceding *e familia Scriboniorum* and *Libo*. The motion *ne quis Scribonius cognomentum Drusi adsumeret* (*Ann.* 2.32) implies that Libo had assumed "Drusus" as his *cognomen*. Strictly interpreted, this means that "Drusus" became his third name, not his fourth (*agnomen*). The *Fasti Amiternini*, I.I. 13.2.193, 509, give the name in the form *M. Libone*; Suetonius (*Tib.* 25.1) and Dio (57.15.4) call him Lucius Scribonius Libo, apparently confusing him with his brother, the consul of A.D. 16. If he did take the style "Drusus Libo," he thereby reproduced that of his paternal uncle (M. Livius) Drusus Libo (on the relationship see E. J. Weinrib, *HSCP* 72 [1968] 263).

¹¹⁴ Velleius 2.129.2f, *domitorem recepit Germaniae... respondente cultu triumphi rerum quas gesserat magnitudini... quanto cum honore Germanicum suum in transmarinas misit provincias.*

Maroboduus in A.D. 18¹¹⁵ affords no clue whether he was in Rome at the time; but it is possible. At this point we have to notice a curious phenomenon. Velleius began this survey of detailed events of Tiberius' principate, not with the Drusus Libo affair, as would be expected, but with an event of A.D. 19, three years later:

With what prudence he summoned to Rome Rhescuporis, murderer of his own brother's son Cotys who shared the kingdom! In this affair (Tiberius) employed the outstanding services of the consular Pomponius Flaccus, a man born to do well everything that needs to be well done, whose simple excellence is such that he always deserves glory but never courts it.¹¹⁶

This matter is thrown well forward out of its chronological turn, although chronological order is generally followed in the survey.¹¹⁷ Why is the crushing of Rhescuporis given pride of place in this way? Furthermore, the special complimentary mention of Pomponius Flaccus is both obtrusive and unique; no other senator is singled out for such honour in this final section. There must surely be some reason for particular interest in the episode on the part of Velleius. The subject is Thracian affairs. L. Pomponius Flaccus, consul A.D. 17, had had previous experience in the area,¹¹⁸ and in 18 or early 19, on the death of the praetorian legate of Moesia, he was sent out with a special commission as consular legate of the province, specifically to handle the Thracian problem.¹¹⁹ He will of course have had legionary legates and other staff

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2.129.3. Probably misplaced, for structural reasons, under A.D. 19 by Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.62; cf. Furneaux's and Koestermann's commentaries *ad loc.*; *PIR*² 4.1219, p. 175.

¹¹⁶ Velleius 2.129.1.

¹¹⁷ Thus (in 2.129) Drusus Libo (A.D. 16), Germanicus' triumph (16 May A.D. 17), Germanicus to the East (late 17), Drusus and Maroboduus (18), revolt of Florus and Sacrovir (21), end of African war (24, or in deference to Iunius Blaesus 23?); (in 2.130) restoration of Theatre of Pompeius (promised late 22; date of completion unknown, but probably some years later), great fire on the Caelian (27). At this point (2.130.3) Velleius begins a new section on *dolenda* and *erubescenda*, in which chronological considerations are less closely regarded: *viz.*, Drusus Libo (A.D. 16), Silius (24, or 21), Piso (20, or 19), deaths of Germanicus and Drusus (19, 23), and of Drusus' son (23), case of Agrippina and Nero Caesar and death of Augusta (29).

¹¹⁸ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 2.66, *arta cum rege amicitia*; Ovid *Pont.* 4.9.75, *praefuit his, Graecine, locis modo Flaccus*: evidently as praetorian legate (under the overall command of C. Poppaeus Sabinus).

¹¹⁹ Tacitus *Ann.* 2.66f: *not* under the command of Poppaeus Sabinus (*contra* A. Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien* [Budapest 1940] 19).

officers. If one of these was Velleius Paterculus, another man with previous experience in Thrace,¹²⁰ we have our explanation.

If Velleius Paterculus was a praetorian legate in Moesia and Thrace in A.D. 19, we are faced with an interesting coincidence. In A.D. 21, when some of the Thracian tribes rebelled and besieged King Rhoe-metalces in Philippopolis, they were put down by a certain P. Vellaeus commanding the nearest army, namely a legion with auxiliary cavalry and infantry.

On learning of these developments P. Vellaeus, who commanded the nearest army, dispatched auxiliary cavalry and light-armed infantry against rebels who were roaming the countryside plundering or recruiting reinforcements, and personally led the main body of infantry to raise the siege. The whole operation went like clockwork. The marauders were wiped out. The besiegers quarrelled among themselves. The king made a timely sortie, as the legion arrived. It could not fairly be called a battle or a fight. It was simply a massacre of ill-armed stragglers, and not a drop of Roman blood was shed.¹²¹

The highly efficient P. Vellaeus, clearly a legionary legate and an experienced soldier, does not turn up again, in Tacitus or anywhere else. The name Vellaeus is of course perfectly acceptable. We note, for example, the contemporary C. Vellaeus Tutor, suffect consul A.D. 28.¹²² Nevertheless, confusion between the names Vellaeus and Velleius definitely does occur in the tradition (and in scholarship). A notorious example is the so-called *Senatus Consultum Velleianum* (i.e. *Vellaeianum*).¹²³ Is there any possibility that Velleius Paterculus and P. Vellaeus are the same man?¹²⁴ If so, a legionary legateship in Moesia-

¹²⁰ See n. 52.

¹²¹ Tacitus *Ann.* 3.39.

¹²² *ILS* 6099, 6099a; Degrassi, *FCIR* 9.

¹²³ *Digest.* 16.1.1; 16.1.2.1 (Velleus Tutor); *Cod. Iustin.* 4.29; cf. D. Medicus, *Zur Geschichte des S. C. Velleianum* (Köln 1957) 1, n. 2. Cf. also the *lex Iunia Vellaea* (Gaius *Inst.* 2.134; *Digest.* 28.3.13, etc.), called the *lex Iunia Velleia* in *Inst. Iustin.* 2.13.2.

¹²⁴ The identification was first made, not in the Iuntine edition (of Justin, Nepos, and Velleius: Florence 1525), as stated by Dihle (*RE* 8A. 638), but by Beatus (Bildius) Rhenanus in the *Vita Vellei Paterculi* included in the *editio princeps*, 1520 (reproduced in the Ruhnken-Frotscher edition, xxvii seqq.). Rhenanus actually cites Tacitus *Ann.* 3.39 with the reading *P. Velleius*, but this carries no weight (he was so negligent — or unscrupulous — as to call the historian "Vellaeus" in his letter to G. Spalatinus, quoted by Ruhnken-Frotscher, xii, cf. R. Ellis' edition, Oxford 1898, x).

The *praenomen* is an intricate problem. Amerbach's apograph does not give Velleius Paterculus any *praenomen* (see e.g. Ellis, xiii and *app. crit.* on p.

Thrace from about 19 to 21 could be postulated for the historian. That accords with his evident interest in Thracian affairs at the time.¹²⁵

19). The *praenomen* "Publius" already appeared on the title page of Rhenanus' edition (Ruhnken-Frotscher, cxxiii; F. Kritz's edition [Leipzig 1840] cxxviii seq.; *Library of Congress Catalog* 156 [1946] 328; *Brit. Mus. Gen. Cat. Pr. Books* 247 [1964] 242), although "Gaius" appeared on the first page (Kritz, II). It is self-evident (and confirmed by Amerbach) that neither name had authority from the now lost codex; Rhenanus first conjectured "Gaius" (perhaps by analogy with the name of the historian's grandfather: Dihle, *RE* 8A. 638), then lit on P. Vellaeus in Tacitus *Ann.* 3.39. According to Ruhnken-Frotscher, cxxiv seq. (cf. *BMGCPB* 74 [1961] 727, and 247 [1964] 242), the first appearance of "C. Velleius Paterculus" on a title page was in the 1560 Paris edition (of Florus etc.) and then in A. Manutius' edition (Venice 1571). The C. Velleius Paterculus, *leg. Aug. leg. III Aug.*, of *CIL* 8.10311, is clearly not the historian, since the inscription must be dated after A.D. 39 (Hanslik, *RE* 8A.660) and probably later than 45 (B. E. Thomasson, *Die Statthalter der röm. Prov. Nordafrikas v. Aug. bis Dioclet.* [Lund 1960] 2.147). He is almost certainly identical with the suffect consul of c. 60, who must be the historian's son (as also L. Velleius Paterculus, *cos. suff.* 61; Degrassi, *FCIR* 16f).

Now Priscian, *Inst.* 6.63, cites "M. Velleius Paterculus" (the MSS have "M. Vellius pater cuius"), which may seem to settle the question. But Priscian never gives the *tria nomina* in citations — with a single, dubious exception, *Inst.* 9.47, where "L. Cassius Emina" appears, although at 7.69, 10.47, 12.17, and *Partit.* 132, it is just "Cassius Emina," and at *Inst.* 7.11 just "Emina." In both *Inst.* 6.63 and 9.47 the *praenomen* may be intrusive. (The *praenomen* Lucius for Cassius Hemina is in fact doubtful. H. Peter, *HRR* 1. cXLV n. 2, imagines it to be confirmed by *Schol. Veron. ad Aen.* 2.717, which cites "L. Cassius Censorius"! Peter himself performs in a manner worthy of Beatus Rhenanus, calling the historian "L. Cassius Hemina" in his introductory commentary, 1.cXLV seqq., and "C. Cassius Hemina" at the head of the pages devoted to the fragments, 1.98ff.)

It may be added that, if Tacitus knew "P. Vellaeus" was the historian, it was characteristic for him to introduce the man without making any reference to that fact. We compare his silence on the writings of Curtius Rufus and Petronius (*Ann.* 11.21, 16.18).

¹²⁵ His brief note on Cn. Piso, 2.130.3, (*quid hic meruit*) *ut Silium Pisonemque tam < infestos haberet, quorum > alterius dignitatem constituit, auxit alterius*, does not suggest eyewitness of the Senate proceedings against Piso in 20 (contrast the reference to Libo, 2.129.2); this fits with the hypothesis that he was absent in Moesia-Thrace. It may also be observed that his mention of the Gallic revolt of 21 (2.129.3) is written exactly as would be expected if he was away from Italy at the time. According to Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.44, the fact of the rebellion was generally known at Rome, and its scope was exaggerated by rumour. But only when it was completely put down did Tiberius write to the Senate reporting simultaneously its outbreak and its suppression (3.47, *tum demum Tiberius ortum patratumque bellum senatu scripsit*). Velleius states that the Roman people learnt that it had won the war before it knew there was one (2.129.3, *quantae molis bellum principe Galliarum ciente Sacroviro Floroque Iulio mira celeritate ac virtute compressit, ut*

For the years after A.D. 21 there is very little to go on. His brief allusion to the fire at the Theatre of Pompeius (A.D. 22) is insufficient to show whether he was by then in Rome.¹²⁶ On the other hand, his reference to the fire on the Caelian (A.D. 27) does carry a slight suggestion that he was present at this time.¹²⁷ And the tone of his allusions to the dolours of "the last three years" (*hoc triennium*) suggests, what we could assume on general grounds, that he was in Rome during the period up to the publication of his work (A.D. 28-30).¹²⁸

The review of Velleius' career should have demonstrated that he came to the writing of history with some, at least, of the equipment that is commonly preferred in a Roman historian. He belonged to the upper classes, was a Roman senator, and had held offices of state. He had commanded with the Roman armies and was acquainted with many parts of the Empire. He had been close to the sources of power. He had some of the advantages, we might say, of a Sallust or an Asinius Pollio over a Livy or a Fenestella. And he succeeded where many Roman historians failed: he somehow found an audience, and survived.

III. VELLEIUS' HISTORICAL WORK

His survival into modern times was admittedly precarious. The single codex, discovered by Beatus Rhenanus at Murbach early in 1515, apparently disappeared not long after his publication of the *editio princeps* at Basel in 1520.¹²⁹ It was evidently difficult to read, badly

ante populus Romanus vicisse se quam bellare cognosceret nuntiosque periculi victoriae praecederet nuntius). If he had been in the Balkan province at the time, and especially if he had been busy with a campaign of his own, the official report of Tiberius' communication might well have been the first news to reach him. He himself, in short, would have learnt that the war was won before he knew there was one. (This probably applied to most of the more remote regions of the Empire.)

¹²⁶ Velleius 2.130.1, *quam magnifico animi temperamento Cn. quoque Pompei munera absumpta igni restituit*; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 3.72.

¹²⁷ Velleius 2.130.2, *qua liberalitate, cum alias, tum proxime incenso monte Caelio omnis ordinis hominum iacturae patrimonio succurrit*; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 4.64; Suetonius *Tib.* 48.

¹²⁸ Velleius 2.130.4f. For the date of publication (A.D. 30), see below, section IV.

¹²⁹ Cf. Ellis, x. The history of the brief resurrection of the codex has proved hard to reconstruct, not least because of the ambiguous statements of Rhenanus. His dedication, dated 8 Dec. 1520, says that he found the codex "abhinc annos ut puto quinque," which evidently leaves the reader uncertain whether the year was 1515, or perhaps 1514 or 1516. However, R. Sabbadini discovered that Rhenanus had already referred to his finding of the codex in the commentated edition of

corrupt, and sadly lacunose. We cannot even be sure of the title of the work (if it had one). "Historia Romana" was Rhenanus' invention and has no authority. From the apograph by Bonifacius Amerbach, made in 1516, it appears that the codex was inscribed *Vellei Paterculi ad Marcum Vinicium libri duo*.¹³⁰ No preface has survived, but a later reference to a

Seneca's *Ludus*, which carries a dedication dated 30 March 1515 (*RFIC* 47 [1919] 340f). Rhenanus, citing passages corresponding to Velleius 2.82.4 and 2.83.2, introduced the latter with the words "sic Velleius Paterculus vetustissimus scriptor, quem nos nuperrime in Murbacensi bibliotheca reperimus, aliquando studiosis impertituri . . ." Thus the codex had been discovered before 30 March 1515, but not long before ("nuperrime"). According to Rhenanus' dedication again, a copy was hurriedly made by a friend, "properanter ac infeliciter ab amico quodam." Sabbadini assumes that this copy was used by Rhenanus for his notes on the *Ludus*, in which case the copy (which was the basis of the *editio princeps*) had also been made before 30 March 1515. But the assumption is not certain; Rhenanus could presumably have made a few notes on points currently interesting him at the time he identified the codex. At any rate it appears certain that the all-important "exemplum" was made in 1515. According to Rhenanus, "abhinc quatuor annos" G. Spalatinus asked for a copy to be placed in the library of his employer, the Duke of Saxony. (But from his letter to Spalatinus, dated 16 Dec. 1520, it would appear that Spalatinus had actually requested that the original codex rather than a copy be sent to Wittenberg.) This apparently was in 1516. In the same year Amerbach made his apograph (whether from the original codex or from the "exemplum"), dating it 11 Aug. 1516 (cf. Ellis, xiii). Meanwhile, Rhenanus had decided to wait before proceeding with his edition, because a better codex was rumoured to exist at Milan. He waited in vain "iam treis annos," which appears to bring us from 1515 to 1518; this agrees with the indication noted by Orelli (his edition [Leipzig 1835] XIII seq.) that Rhenanus promised in 1518 to the publisher Frobenius that the Velleius would be his to print. In spite of the fact that this date allows a full two years before the appearance of the *editio princeps*, Rhenanus states in the letter to Spalatinus that his own collation of the manuscript had been a last-minute affair ("postrema sed nimium sera"); it was this collation, he claims, that revealed the unreliability of his anonymous friend the copyist. However, he was not able to delay the edition any longer — the printers were apparently becoming impatient. Rhenanus complains in the letter that, though he frequently advised them to inspect the codex as well as the "exemplum," they were more interested in finishing the job as soon as possible than in the welfare of the book. Finally, when the edition was already in print, J. A. Burer collated it with the original codex, and his readings were printed as an appendix. The edition appears to have been sent out into the world between 13 Dec. (the date subscribed to the *Vita* which was included) and 16 Dec. 1520 (the date of the letter to Spalatinus). In a postscript Rhenanus indicates that the codex had immediately been returned to the Murbach library (cf. Ellis, ix). Ellis, xi, found traces of two other apographs, by Bernardinus Rutilius and Petrus Pithoeus, but these appear dubious (on Pithoeus see Orelli, xi seq.).

¹³⁰ Ellis, xiii, 19. Velleius himself does not call his work "*historia*," but simply "*opus*" (1.16.1; 2.29.2, 38.1, 49.1, 66.3, 86.1, 89.1, 96.3); once (2.52.3)

promise of brevity¹³¹ indicates that, as we should expect, there was one. Since it is lost, we are obliged to deduce from the mutilated corpse of the work what its scope and purpose were supposed to be.

What is extant of the first "book" is contained in some eighteen pages of the current Teubner edition (but nearly six of these do not belong to the *prior pars* proper).¹³² The second book (or *posterior pars*), which is nearly intact, occupies 113 pages. Thus, if we assume some balance between the two *partes*, it is probable that at least 80% of the first book is missing. The two sections surviving indicate that the historical period covered ran from the Trojan War to the destruction of Carthage and Corinth — a thousand years or so! But it takes only six pages to get from Agamemnon to Rome's founding and the rape of the Sabine virgins. Velleius bypasses all the legendary history of the Latins before Romulus. After a huge lacuna we find ourselves at the beginning of the Third Macedonian War against King Perses. The scale of treatment is a little more ample, but still five and a half pages suffice to cover the twenty-five years to 146 B.C.

The fact that not much material of historical interest (except the survey of colonization) happens to survive in the first book may have led to its being somewhat neglected in assessments of the economy of the whole work. We have to take account of all that is lost, as well as that which remains. It has been maintained by Lana in a lengthy disquisition that Velleius is not a historian at all, that he is nothing but a propagandist for the policies and ideas of Tiberius.¹³³ The thesis tends to be slightly more plausible if attention is focussed on the second book. The period covered, from Scipio Aemilianus and the Gracchi to Augustus and Tiberius, can be viewed as a total historical experience, the Long Revolution, wherein the end was closely and directly related

he uses the term "*scriptura*," which may suggest that he regarded himself as *rerum scriptor*.

The division into two *libri* is attested by Priscian's citation (*Inst.* 6.63, *libro I*) and by Amerbach's apograph (fols. 5^a–6^a). Velleius himself refers to the structure of his work in 1.14.1 and 1.16.1. It consists of a single *volumen* (cf. also 2.131.1). There is a *prior pars* (ending at 1.13 with the fall of Carthage and Corinth, 146 B.C.), a *posterior pars* (corresponding to the *liber secundus* of Amerbach), and, inserted between the two *partes*, a *particula* serving to distinguish them and comprising (a) a record of Roman colonies (1.14–15) and (b) some reflections on the history of literature (1.16–18). It thus appears that the division into two *libri* does not exactly correspond to Velleius' intention (cf. R. Rau, *Gnomon* 10 [1934] 282).

¹³¹ Velleius 2.55.1, *promissae brevitatis fides*; cf. 2.89.6, *nos memores professionis*.

¹³² See n. 130.

¹³³ See n. 1.

to the antecedent parts. Almost any account of the decline and fall of the Roman Republic will tend to take on the appearance of an apologia for the Principate! But if Velleius had aimed to be nothing more than a Tiberian propagandist or apologist, it was extravagant for him to begin with the Trojan War and the murder of Agamemnon, to dwell on the noble death of Codrus, to worry about the origin of the name Thessalia, to discourse upon the genius of Homer and Hesiod, and so on and so forth.¹³⁴

It seems clear enough that what Velleius set out to write was a kind of miniature universal history, designed for entertainment and instruction. The fragment cited by Priscian — *nec minus clarus ea tempestate fuit Miltiadis filius Cimon* — falls within the great lacuna and proves that Velleius continued to allude to people and events of Greek history, for the fifth century at least. And it is scarcely to be believed that he did not stay his racing pen for Alexander the Great and his memorable deeds.¹³⁵ But by the time he reaches the second century and we are again able to see what he is doing, Rome dominates the stage. In the nature of things that was inevitable. The same condition no doubt obtained in the lost treatment of the third-century wars.

Velleius mentions at frequent intervals in the second book his intention of writing a proper history in several volumes (*iustum opus, iustis voluminibus*). The first of these announcements indicates that this major work would begin with the prelude to the Civil War between Pompeius and Caesar.¹³⁶ It would include a comprehensive description of Pannonia and Dalmatia and a narrative of Tiberius' several campaigns there; an account of the circumstances of Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes in 6 B.C., and of his adoption by Augustus in A.D. 4; and a detailed description of the Varian disaster in Germany.¹³⁷ He does not, it is important to note, announce any plan to narrate the history of

¹³⁴ Velleius 1.1.1f; 2.1f; 3.1f, 5; 7.1.

¹³⁵ Observe the comparison of Alexander and Caesar (2.41.1); the incidental references in 1.6.5 and 1.11.4 also reveal the special interest in Alexander that we should expect.

¹³⁶ Velleius 2.48.5, *harum praeteritarumque rerum ordo cum iustis aliorum voluminibus promatur, tum, uti spero, nostris explicabitur*. It seems probable that he had already referred to his plans for a major work in the lost Preface.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 2.96.2f, *alio loco explicabimus*; 99.3, *iusto servemus operi*; 103.4, *vix in illo iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus*; 114.4, *iustis voluminibus ordine narrabimus, ut spero*; 119.1, *iustis voluminibus . . . conabimur exponere*; cf. also 106.1, *quanti voluminis opera insequenti aestate sub duce Tiberio gessimus!* (the German campaign of A.D. 5). The idea that Velleius heralds more than one work (H. Sauppe, *Ausgew. Schriften* [Berlin 1895] 47; M. Manitius, *Rh. Mus.* 47 [1892] 467f) is absurd (cf. Kritz, xv).

Tiberius' principate. The work, then, would have had a scope similar to, but more extensive than, that of the senator Cremutius Cordus, which a few years earlier had been banned and burned.¹³⁸ Velleius must have been only too conscious of this unpleasant precedent. It has indeed been doubted whether he seriously intended to compose such a work.¹³⁹ But there is nothing casual or perfunctory about the way Velleius announces the project. He advertises it repeatedly and emphatically.¹⁴⁰ True, on one occasion an unkind critic might suspect that reference to the *iustum opus* is designed to help Velleius over a sticky patch — Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes. But that explanation¹⁴¹ would certainly not work for the other references, which concern matters Velleius would obviously have been pleased or interested to elaborate upon. Again, it might be questioned whether Velleius, however sincere his intention, really had the ability or capacity to accomplish the task. We have no reason to suppose that the major opus or any part of it was published. Teuffel acidly remarked that it is fortunate he did not carry out his intention.¹⁴² Few historians would endorse such a foolish prejudice. Any account of the Revolutionary epoch by a near-contemporary, however incompetent or biassed, could not fail to be of absorbing interest; it would surely add *something* to the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. But what most concerns us here is that the project proves Velleius did

¹³⁸ Tacitus *Ann.* 4.35; Seneca *Cons. Marc.* 1.3; Suetonius *Tib.* 61.3, *Gai.* 16.1; Dio 57.24.4. Cremutius Cordus' *Annales* (Peter, *HRR* 2.CXIII seqq., 87ff) contained reference to Caesar (Dio 57.24.3), the proscriptions, and the death of Cicero (Seneca *Suas.* 6.19, 23; Seneca *Cons. Marc.* 26.1); the latest matter for which he is cited is the *lectio senatus* of 18 B.C. (Suetonius *Aug.* 35). Dio says his history was about the achievements of Augustus; Seneca (*Cons. Marc.* 26.5) that it dealt with *unius saeculi facta*. The indications are that the period covered ran from about 44 B.C. to some significant terminal point in the Augustan principate (perhaps 17 B.C., the end of the *saeculum*, perhaps 2 B.C., when Augustus became *pater patriae*, perhaps some other date).

¹³⁹ Sauppe, *Ausgew. Schriften* 47; W. S. Teuffel, *History of Roman Literature* (London 1891–1892) 2.17 (omitted, however, from the 7th German edition, 1920, 1965).

¹⁴⁰ This is quite different from Tacitus' promise in *Hist.* 1.1.4 of a history of the principate of Nerva and the rule of Trajan (on which see Syme, *Tacitus* 1.219ff: "Tacitus' words . . . convey, not a binding pledge, but due homage to the régime"). Only if Velleius had promised a detailed history of Tiberius' reign would there be a true parallel.

¹⁴¹ Which would not be particularly cogent, for Velleius is quite voluble on the subject, even if not very informative or penetrating (2.99). The matters he reserves for fuller treatment are not *arcana imperii*, but external manifestations: *quis fuerit eo tempore civitatis habitus, qui singulorum animi, quae digredientium a tanto viro omnium lacrimae, quam paene ei patria manum iniecerit* (2.99.3).

¹⁴² Teuffel, *Geschichte der röm. Lit.*⁷ (Leipzig 1920, Aalen 1965) 191.

take himself seriously as a historian.¹⁴³ He had the ambition to write something better than a mere epitome of history, and indeed in the latter part of his work he clearly has a struggle to keep from bursting out of the self-imposed straitjacket of *brevitas*.

IV. THE DATE OF COMPOSITION

Although his Preface is lost, Velleius frequently reminds us in the text that the work is dedicated to Marcus Vinicius in honour of his holding the consulship. In fact, this consulship is an integral part of the work. It is elevated to the status of an era. Events are dated so many years before Marcus Vinicius' entry on the consulship: *ante annos quam tu, M. Vinici, consulatum inires . . .*¹⁴⁴ Some of these references cannot easily be detached from their context, and we must assume that they were included at the time of writing, not as later additions.¹⁴⁵ Vinicius began his consulship on 1 January A.D. 30 and held it for six months, to 30 June.¹⁴⁶ However, we need not of course suppose that Velleius only started writing on New Year's Day. The *terminus post quem* for commencement of composition should be Vinicius' designation to the office in A.D. 29, probably during the early summer.¹⁴⁷ Velleius several

¹⁴³ It probably shows, too, that the later part of his minor opus rested on at least a preliminary collection of material for the major work (cf. Kritz, xvi seq.).

¹⁴⁴ Velleius 1.8.1; 2.49.1, 65.2; cf. 1.8.4; 2.7.5.

¹⁴⁵ In 1.8.4, 2.49.1, 2.65.2, other chronological indications are given, so that the reference to Vinicius *could* have been a late addition. But the question is settled by 1.8.1, where Vinicius' consulship is integral to the sense. (In 2.7.5 it is integral to the sense, but the passage to which it belongs — on Opimian wine — *could* have been a late insertion, though rather an odd one.)

¹⁴⁶ Degrassi, *FCIR* (Rome 1952) 10.

¹⁴⁷ We might allow for the possibility that Velleius could know before the election that Vinicius was certain to be elected (by virtue of enjoying the backing of the Princeps, cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.81). The normal date of consular elections in the Tiberian period is not easy to determine. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.81, places the consular elections for A.D. 16 at the end of his account of 15, but the reason for this may be structural, not chronological. The consular elections of 14 for 15 had been held before Tiberius became Princeps (*ibid.*) and therefore before Augustus' death on 19 August (cf. *Ann.* 1.14, where Drusus is *consul designatus* before the time of the praetorian elections, which were the first elections under Tiberius, *ibid.* 1.15). The fact that Drusus was consul designate (*II.*) for A.D. 21 is mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* 3.22, in connection with the trial of Aemilia Lepida. Both Furneaux and Koestermann (*ad Ann.* 3.23) suggest that the *ludi* which interrupted the trial were the *ludi magni Romani* of September 4–19. However, the *ludi Apollinares* and *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, which took up most of July (6–13, 20–30, cf. Degrassi, *I.I.* 13.2.372 etc.), would seem to be a likely alternative. It is difficult to know how much to make of the fact that Drusus'

times excuses his headlong haste.¹⁴⁸ He was clearly hurrying to meet a deadline. It is difficult to see what the deadline could be other than Vinicius' consulship. The historian presumably aimed to celebrate his friend's honour by publishing the work during his period of office. If so, he seems to have not quite made it.

One curious point is that the references to Vinicius' consulship come to a stop about the middle of Book 2, although the method of dating from the present time (*abhinc*) continues to be used occasionally.¹⁴⁹ This suggests the possibility that the later chapters were written after 30 June A.D. 30. Again, the adoption of Tiberius is dated *Aelio Cato C. Sentio consulibus VI. Kal. Iulias, post urbem conditam annis DCCLIII, abhinc annos XXVII*.¹⁵⁰ Reckoning from 26 June A.D. 4, it might seem that this fixes the date of writing some time after 27 June A.D. 30 (the beginning of the 27th year from the date of the adoption).¹⁵¹ It would be possible to escape from this conclusion by positing corruption of the numeral *XXVII*,¹⁵² but the concordance of the given

status as designate is not noted in Tacitus' earlier references to him in A.D. 20, notably that to his *ovatio* (*Ann.* 3.19) which is dated to 28 May (*Fasti Ost.*, I.I. 13.1.186, 216, cf. *Fasti Amit.*, I.I. 13.2.187, 462). On this slender basis a date between 28 May and 6 July for the election might be proposed. The inscription in A. and J. Šašel, *Inscr. Lat. Iugoslavia* (Ljubjana 1963) 89 no. 257, from Issa — *Drusus Caesar T[i. Aug. f. divi] Augusti nepos cos. des[ig. iterum] pontifex augur cam[pum] dedit.* *Publio Dolabella leg. pro [praetore]* — relates to Drusus' command in Illyricum. It might be argued that the inscription shows him consul designate before ending the command, therefore before 28 May. But it may have been set up after the termination of the command (but still in 21), an idea possibly strengthened by the apparent absence of reference to his status in the province (presumably *proconsul*, like Germanicus in the East, cf., e.g., V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents . . . Augustus and Tiberius*² [Oxford 1955] 320).

¹⁴⁸ Velleius 1.16.1; 2.41.1, 108.2, 124.1; cf. 2.29.2, 55.1, 86.1, 89.1, 99.4, 103.4, 117.1, 119.1.

¹⁴⁹ No reference to Vinicius' consulship after 2.65.1; *abhinc* dating, 2.90.2, 90.4, 93.1, 100.2, 103.3. Apostrophes to Vinicius continue to the end of the book (2.101.3, 103.1, 113.1, 130.4).

¹⁵⁰ Velleius 2.103.3.

¹⁵¹ So Lana, *Velleio* 297.

¹⁵² I.e., *XXVII* to be emended to *XXVI*. Figures in Velleius' text are of course particularly liable to corruption. Thus in the passage in question *VI. Kal. Iul.* is a certain correction of the transmitted *V. Kal. Iul.* (proved by *Fasti Amit.*, I.I. 13.2.187, 473f).

Another escape route would be to assume that Velleius is simply counting inclusively in terms of consular years (A.D. 4–30 = 27) and ignoring the calendar date (so apparently Kritz, XLII). But this would be somewhat strange after he

terminus with the other indications suggests that escape is unnecessary.¹⁵³ Near the end of the work Velleius refers to *horum XVI annorum* as the period of Tiberius' rule to date.¹⁵⁴ Tiberius' sixteenth year ended in August (or September) of A.D. 30. Thus we have three pointers conspiring to the conclusion that the work of Velleius was not completed until after the middle of the year 30.

The latest events Velleius actually records (apart from the consulship of Vinicius) are the fall of Agrippina and Nero Caesar and the death of Julia Augusta, early in 29.¹⁵⁵ But there is a further item which seems hitherto to have eluded detection. In a well-known passage concerning the elevation of *novi homines* to the consulship and other honours, Velleius concludes:

This natural imitation of precedent has caused Caesar to put Seianus to the test, has impelled Seianus to assist the Princeps in his burdens, and has brought the Senate and Roman People to the point that they are glad to summon to the preservation of their security the person they know to be the best and most serviceable for the purpose (*ut, quod usu optimum intellegit, id in tutelam securitatis suae libenter advocet*).¹⁵⁶

In the context the latter part of the statement undoubtedly refers to the promotion of the Praetorian Prefect to the consulship,¹⁵⁷ which he was to come from Capri to assume at Rome on 1 January A.D. 31.¹⁵⁸ The

has specified the calendar date, 26 June. If he was writing, say, in May A.D. 30, he could scarcely help being conscious that even the 26th anniversary of the adoption (a day of *feriae*) lay in the future.

¹⁵³ Reading XXVI, we would get the following chronological possibilities: (a) with inclusive reckoning, the date is between 27 June A.D. 29 and 26 June A.D. 30; (b) with exclusive reckoning, the date is after 26 June A.D. 30. Reading XXVII: (a) with inclusive reckoning, the date is between 27 June A.D. 30 and 26 June A.D. 31; (b) with exclusive reckoning, it is after 26 June A.D. 31 (clearly impossible). Thus either reading allows the dating to the second half of A.D. 30.

¹⁵⁴ Velleius 2.126.1. This too could be evaded, as with the previous instance, but, *mutatis mutandis*, similar counters to the evasion would apply (nn. 152f).

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 2.130.4f.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 2.128.4.

¹⁵⁷ The precedents imitated, according to Velleius, were the elevation of Ti. Coruncanius *ad principale fastigium* by virtue of all the offices of honour and in particular that of Pontifex Maximus; of Sp. Carvilius, M. Cato, Mummius Achaicus, to consulships, censorships, and triumphs; of C. Marius to his series of consulships; and of Cicero and Asinius Pollio (their highest office was in fact the consulship). It could be held that Velleius manages to hint at more than the consulship for Seianus, but it will not be denied that he alludes to the consulship specifically.

¹⁵⁸ Dio 58.4.3, 4, and 9.

election presumably occurred some time in the summer of 30.¹⁵⁹ This too will harmonize with the view that Velleius had not completed his work by the middle of the year.

One important event of 30 is not mentioned by Velleius: the condemnation of Drusus Caesar as a public enemy by senatorial decree (on which he may of course have voted).¹⁶⁰ The matter was put to the Senate by the presiding consul, Cassius.¹⁶¹ Alas, this promise of a delimited date within the year proves illusory. The brothers Lucius and Gaius Cassius Longinus held the consulship successively in 30, one in each half of the year.¹⁶² Hence Drusus' condemnation could be dated either before or after midyear. We could suppose that the event fell outside Velleius' purview because it belonged to the later months of A.D. 30. But it is always possible that he does not mention it because he does not choose to.¹⁶³

The results of this discussion may be summed up. Velleius probably began writing his book in the early summer of A.D. 29, when Vinicius' election was assured, and probably finished it in the late summer of A.D. 30. It appears that he may have had to be satisfied with publishing

¹⁵⁹ Cf. n. 147. An election, or electoral assembly, on the Aventine is apparently referred to by the mysterious inscription, *ILS* 6044 (on which see Syme, *Hermes* 84 [1956] 257ff): *Seiani sce[lerati . . .]itatio et improbae comitiae [q]uae fuerunt in Aventino ubi [Sei]anus cos. factus est*. The constitutional sense of this remains totally baffling.

¹⁶⁰ Suetonius *Tib.* 54.2, *Gai.* 7.

¹⁶¹ Dio 58.3.8.

¹⁶² Degraasi, *FCIR* 10.

¹⁶³ Lana, *Velleio* 295f (cf. 133), affirms that the condemnation of Drusus cannot have occurred before Velleius completed his work (so also Furneaux, and Koestermann, *ad Tacitus Ann.* 6.23), and suggests that when Velleius terminated composition, Drusus had already been sent from Capri to Rome, but had not yet been accused (cf. Dio 58.3.8). This is possible. But one might also allow the possibility that the actual proceedings against Drusus were protracted and were still going on while Velleius hastened to his conclusion. Under these circumstances a reference would have been highly gratuitous.

It may be noted here that another event to which Velleius does not refer, the marriage of Drusus to Aemilia Lepida (unless 2.114.2, *M. Lepidus . . . vir nominis ac fortunae Caesarum proximus* includes an oblique reference to Lepidus as Drusus' father-in-law; for discussion of the reading *Caesarum* see Kritz, *ad loc.*), is dated by Lana (133, 286) to A.D. 30. However, all we can infer is that the marriage took place after the fall of Agrippina and Nero Caesar early in 29 (where the text of Tacitus, who claims to have mentioned it, *Ann.* 6.40, fails us: Syme, *Tacitus* 383 n. 2) and before Seianus enlisted the aid of Lepida in his accusation of Drusus to Tiberius in 30 (Dio 53.3.8). On the face of it, 29 seems a more likely date than 30.

the work during the *year* in which Vinicius was eponymous consul, and not during the actual term of that consulship.¹⁶⁴

V. VELLEIUS, VINICIUS, AND SEIANUS

Marcus Vinicius, the recipient of Velleius' dedication, the man whose consulship Velleius sought to establish as a kind of era (a unique type of personal advertisement), was of a Campanian family, from Cales, that had risen to prominence through the Revolution.¹⁶⁵ His grandfather of the same name, suffect consul in 19 B.C., had been not only one of Augustus' most active generals but one of his intimate friends.¹⁶⁶ This man's son was the Publius Vinicius under whom Velleius began his military career.¹⁶⁷ Consul in A.D. 2, proconsul of Asia some years later,¹⁶⁸ Publius was not a great marshal like his father, but he gained a reputation as a fine and discriminating orator.¹⁶⁹ He was, too, an ardent admirer of Ovid.¹⁷⁰ It is significant (as well as remarkable) that Ovid, who had died in Pontic exile only a dozen years ago, finds a place in Velleius' list of the greatest writers of the past generation.¹⁷¹

In spite of the importance of these Vinicii, their family connections remain unknown. No one need be surprised if it should turn out that a political and marriage connection with the Siliii existed. This is another family on which Velleius lavishes particular attention,¹⁷² in spite of the personal disaster that had befallen Gaius Silius only six years earlier. And Vinicii and Siliii have a habit of occurring together with notable frequency.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁴ This is also the conclusion of Lana, *Velleio* 299 (with further arguments, of dubious value).

¹⁶⁵ Tacitus *Ann.* 6.15; *RE* 9A.110ff.

¹⁶⁶ Suetonius *Aug.* 71.2.

¹⁶⁷ See n. 52.

¹⁶⁸ *IG* 12.5.756, *SEG* 12.452 (c. A.D. 8/9).

¹⁶⁹ Seneca *Contr.* 7.5.11, *exactissimi vir ingenii, qui nec dicere res ineptas nec ferre poterat.*

¹⁷⁰ Seneca *Contr.* 10.4.25.

¹⁷¹ Along with Vergil, Rabirius, Livy, and Tibullus, and to the exclusion of Horace and Propertius (Velleius 2.36.3).

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 2.83.3, 90.4, 101.3, 116.3 (the panegyric on A. Licinius Nerva Silianus, *cos.* A.D. 7).

¹⁷³ P. Silius, *cos.* 20 B.C., and M. Vinicius, *cos. suff.* 19 B.C., coupled as friends of Augustus (Suetonius *Aug.* 71.2); both also proconsuls of Illyricum, c. 17/16 and 14/13 resp. Their sons, P. Vinicius and P. Silius, successive commanding officers of Velleius in Thrace and Macedonia 2-1 B.C., and consuls in successive years, A.D. 2 and 3.

Velleius' Marcus Vinicius must have been about fifteen years his junior.¹⁷⁴ His early career is quite unattested, but there must have been a quaestorship and a praetorship in the 20's. He was, according to Tacitus, a polished orator.¹⁷⁵ The importance of Marcus Vinicius is made dramatically manifest after the consulship. He married one of Tiberius' granddaughters.¹⁷⁶ On the accession of Caligula he thereby became the brother-in-law of an Emperor. But he managed to survive. He did, however, have his wife removed from him, when she was accused by Caligula of adultery and conspiracy late in 39 and relegated to island exile.¹⁷⁷ It was perhaps fortunate for Vinicius that at the time he was far away, governing Asia as proconsul.¹⁷⁸ His own standing with the young Emperor was not affected, at least on the surface, by his wife's disgrace. On 24 January 41 he was one of those in personal attendance on him at the theatre. With Claudius and Valerius Asiaticus he left before the Emperor.¹⁷⁹ It may well be that he had foreknowledge of the assassination plot. One of the leading conspirators, Lucius Annus Vinicianus, was a close relative.¹⁸⁰

After Caligula had been eliminated, the name of Marcus Vinicius was canvassed as a possibility for the Principate.¹⁸¹ But when the Praetorian Guard chose Claudius, Vinicius quickly accepted the situation. His wife, Iulia Livilla (Claudius' niece), was immediately restored from exile by the new Emperor. Before long she was again accused of adultery,

¹⁷⁴ In view of the standing of his family, he is not likely to have been much over 32 when consul in A.D. 30; for Velleius' age see n. 111.

¹⁷⁵ *Ann.* 6.15. ¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; *PIR*² 4.I674 (Iulia Livilla).

¹⁷⁷ Suetonius *Gai.* 24.3; Dio 59.22.6, 8.

¹⁷⁸ The proconsuls of Asia during Caligula's reign were (cf. D. Magie, *RRAM* 2.1581):

P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio, *cos. suff.* 24, in 36/37 (*PIR*² 2.C1398);

C. Calpurnius Aviola, *cos. suff.* 24, in 37/38 (*PIR*² 2.C251);

C. Asinius Pollio, *cos.* 23, in 38/39 (*PIR*² 1.A1242);

M. Vinicius, *cos.* 30 (*RE* 9A.117);

C. Cassius Longinus, *cos. suff.* 30, in 40/41 (*PIR*² 2.C501).

It is transparent that Vinicius' proconsulship must be dated to the year 39/40, yet Hanslik, *RE* 9A.117, refuses to accept the obvious; on the spurious ground that the inscription *I. Pergamum* 497, honouring Iulia Livilla as Nea Nikephoros (cf. *PIR*² 4.I674), proves her presence in the province with Vinicius during his proconsulship, he arbitrarily reshuffles the proconsular fasti to fit his notions.

¹⁷⁹ Josephus *AJ* 19.102.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. *PIR*² 1.A701: possibly son of a sister of M. Vinicius P. f. (*RE* 9A.111/112 stemma, 120 s.v. Vinicia 11).

¹⁸¹ Josephus *AJ* 19.251 (in Niese's text; the interference with the text by L. H. Feldmann, the Loeb editor, is here unfortunate, producing ungrammatical nonsense).

this time with the philosopher-courtier Seneca, and the pair was banished.¹⁸² Vinicius, whom Tacitus aptly describes as a mild man,¹⁸³ sailed placidly on through all these tribulations. He remained intact even when the pertinacious conspirator, Annius Vinicianus, took a prominent part in the abortive revolt of 42.¹⁸⁴ Vinicius was not involved. The following year he went with Claudius to Britain as one of the general staff, receiving triumphal decorations as a result of the conquest.¹⁸⁵ He was *consul ordinarius* for the second time in 45, a further mark of special honour. And, when he died the following year, he was granted a state funeral.¹⁸⁶

Marcus Vinicius was an important man, who merits more attention than he commonly receives. He had, seemingly, somewhat the same qualities and attributes that Tacitus goes out of his way to eulogize in Marcus Lepidus:¹⁸⁷ the man described as capable of the *princeps locus*, but not interested.¹⁸⁸ Vinicius' discretion and quiet competence assured him the confidence of three Emperors as diverse as Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. He was admitted to membership by marriage of the imperial family. He was, or was believed, capable of the Principate. But he was never one to take foolish risks.

Velleius Paterculus ends his book in a rather extraordinary way, with an impassioned prayer to the gods:

O Juppiter Capitolinus, and Mars Gradivus, founder and stay of the Roman name, and Vesta, guardian of the eternal fires, and all divine powers that have exalted this mighty structure of the Roman Empire to the highest summit of the world, in the name of the nation I beg, I implore you. Guard, preserve, protect our present state, this peace, this Princeps. And when he has discharged his mortal duty for the longest span, destine successors to succeed him at (until)¹⁸⁹ the latest possible time, but successors whose shoulders are strong enough to sustain the empire of the world as resolutely as we know his have done.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸² References, *PIR*² 4.I674. This is not the place to explore the implications of the scandal, clearly a case of political intrigue.

¹⁸³ *Ann.* 6.15, *mitis ingenio*; cf. Dio 60.27.

¹⁸⁴ Dio 60.15.1, 2, 5.

¹⁸⁵ *AE* 1929, 166; cf. Syme, *CQ* 27 (1933) 143; A. von Premerstein, *JAOI* 29 (1935) 79f.

¹⁸⁶ Dio 60.27, with a farcical story that Messalina, failing to seduce Vinicius, poisoned him (a similar picaresque motif had previously been exploited in the case of Appius Iunius Silanus, *ibid.* 60.14.3).

¹⁸⁷ *Ann.* 4.20.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 1.13.

¹⁸⁹ F. W. Shipley (Loeb edition, 1924) translates "... grant him ... successors until the latest time ..."; P. Hainsselin and H. Watelet (Garnier edition, Paris 1932), "qu'... il reçoive de vous le plus tard possible, des successeurs ..."

¹⁹⁰ Velleius 2.131.1f.

Here the text breaks off, in the middle of some appeal of the kind, "confirm the loyal sentiments of all citizens and further their salutary designs."¹⁹¹

The language is studiously oracular, and Velleius far from exposes his mind. But a point of view on the succession to Tiberius is nevertheless adumbrated.

It is assumed, and hoped, that there will be no succession of any kind until Tiberius dies. The successors are plural, though Velleius has perhaps left it ambiguous whether he speaks of the immediate succession ("successors *at* the latest possible time") or a series of successors following one another ("successors *until* the latest possible time").¹⁹² It was, however, appropriate for him to allow the possibility of more than one man succeeding to Tiberius' station, because this was an idea Tiberius himself had ventilated on more than one occasion.¹⁹³ Velleius piously hopes that Tiberius will live for many years yet. But he was approaching 71 at the time of writing. It is hinted that the grandsons, Caligula aged just on 18 and Tiberius Gemellus about 10, are too young, tender, and inexperienced to succeed. For strong men are required to shoulder the burden.

The obvious way of interpreting Velleius' prayer is to suppose that he is recommending Seianus for the succession.¹⁹⁴ We have already noted his oblique reference to the promotion of the Praetorian Prefect to the consulship. This was indeed a most significant step, for Seianus was to hold office with the Princeps himself and that honour had hitherto been

¹⁹¹ *consiliaque omnium civium aut pia . . .*: completed by G. Vossius with <foveate aut impia opprimite>; <fortunate aut scelerata frustramini> Orelli; <invate aut impia confringite> Halm (cited by Lana, *Velleio* 251, with the oversanguine remark "quanto al senso, nessun dubbio sussiste"). These proposals make Velleius wind up with a declaration that *all citizens* might be engaged in impious or nefarious designs! Once this is observed, the supplements are seen to be ludicrous. Bothe saw the problem, but solved it with an entirely unconvincing emendation, *ad pia* <dirigite>. Rhenanus in the *editio princeps* had offered the innocuous suggestion *aut pia* <aut salutaria in felicem exitum provehite>. Something on these lines is certainly preferable. It may be noted that *aut . . . aut* does not require a sharp antithesis like *pia* (*impia*, as editors since Vossius have assumed; cf. 2.46.2, *aut modum norat aut capiebat terminum*; 2.105.2, *splendidum aut hilarem potius quam luxuriosum aut desidem*. An appearance of antithesis is sufficient. Since Rhenanus' supplement does not provide even that, we might venture something on the following lines: *consiliaque omnium civium aut pia* <confirmate aut salutaria adiuvate>.

¹⁹² See n. 189. If Velleius did not intend to be ambiguous, he probably intended the meaning chosen by Hainsselin and Watelet.

¹⁹³ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 1.12 (Suetonius *Tib.* 25.2; Dio 57.2.4-6); *ibid.* 4.9.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Syme, *Tacitus* 368.

reserved for Germanicus and Drusus. But we should study more closely Velleius' treatment of Seianus.

After a highly laudatory summation of the benefits of Tiberius' régime, he continues (2.127) with the generalization that great men have commonly employed great adjutants. The Scipios and their Laelii are mentioned. Tiberius' use of Seianus is compared to Augustus' use of Agrippa and Statilius Taurus. These were new men, but were raised to the highest offices and honours because they were indispensable and it was in the public interest that their usefulness should be buttressed by the possession of dignity and authority. Seianus was of illustrious equestrian origin, *but indeed (vero)* on his mother's side there were old and distinguished *senatorial* families (*insignes honoribus*), and he had brothers, cousins, and an uncle who were of *consular* rank.¹⁹⁵

It ought to be impossible to miss the apologetic tone here. Velleius is justifying the promotion of the new man, Seianus, on the ground that his newness, his *novitas*, is not absolute and unqualified. Velleius is not so much concerned to praise Seianus as to justify Tiberius' treatment of him.¹⁹⁶

There follows a remarkable character sketch. Velleius had probably known Seianus for longer than most people had. They were about the same age, and had probably served together as young men on the staff of Gaius Caesar.¹⁹⁷ This is the description:

himself, extremely capable of labour and of loyalty; a bodily physique matching the vigour of his mind . . . a man of cheerful austerity and strait-laced geniality, in action giving the impression of indolence, claiming nothing for himself and thereby gaining everything, always esteeming himself less than others do, calm in demeanour and way of life, sleeplessly alert.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Cf. *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 134ff.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. the judicious Kritz, xvii seq., "illae Seiani laudes, licet vilissimae videantur et abiectae, ita comparatae sunt, ut facile appareat, Velleium non eo extulisse Seianum, quod ipse eius favorem esset expertus, aut ut ambiret gratiam, sed hunc laudando Tiberium celebrasse, qui illum adiutorem negotiorum principalium assumpserit; in quo ita versatus est, ut capite cxxviii. *paene excusationem Tiberii suscepisse videatur.*"

¹⁹⁷ Cf. n. 67. Prof. H. E. Bird has pointed out to me that the phrase in Tacitus, *Ann.* 4.1, *prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus*, does not necessarily prove (as is universally assumed) that Seianus was with Gaius Caesar in the East. But it does appear that Seianus' best opportunity for "court-ing" Gaius was during the Eastern mission.

¹⁹⁸ Velleius 2.127.3f, *ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis . . . virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscoe, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem, vultu vitaeque tranquillum, animo exsomnem.*

In this *tour de force* of character-portrayal, there are several points that draw attention. Among Velleius' favourite approval-words for a character are *simplex* and *simplicitas*.¹⁹⁹ They do not occur here, and that will not surprise. It is a complex portrait of a complex man. Nor does it impress as a complete endorsement of Seianus' personality. The elaborate parade of contrasts and antitheses, so forced in one case as to prompt insensitive critics to emendation,²⁰⁰ should sound a warning note. So should the reminiscence of the sketch of another great Etruscan, Maecenas — in which the tone of distaste and disapprobation is not at all disguised:

of equestrian *but* illustrious birth, a man *sleeplessly alert* indeed when the occasion demanded vigilance, foresighted and knowing how to *act*, but as soon as relaxation from work was possible, sinking into *indolence* and luxury almost beyond effeminacy . . .²⁰¹

Nor does Tacitus' portrait of Seianus lack significant points of similarity with Velleius', only it is sharpened by uninhibited hostility.²⁰²

Velleius could hardly be expected to speak in open disfavour of Seianus, who was now speeding to the peak of his power and influence and whose capacity to strike down and destroy opponents had been amply demonstrated by this time. (The case of Cremutius Cordus is very much to the point.)²⁰³ But the historian's tone is tense, uneasy, and

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 2.10.2 (Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus), 72.3 (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus), 116.4 (A. Licinius Nerva Silianus), 125.5 (P. Cornelius Dolabella), 129.1 (L. Pomponius Flaccus).

²⁰⁰ Bothe wrote *priscae severitatis, laetissimae hilaritatis*, and was duly castigated by Kritz, *ad loc.* Warde Fowler (*CR* 13 [1899] 219) offered *severitatis lautissimae* (but cf. Silius Ital. 8.611, *laeta viro gravitas*). Ellis' suggestion *serenitatis*, ruining the quasi-chiasmus, is unhappy.

²⁰¹ Velleius 2.88.2, *C. Maecenas equestri sed splendido genere natus* (2.127.3, *principe equestri ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere . . .*), *vir, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomens* (2.127.4, *animo exsomens*), *providum atque agendi sciens, simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio* (2.127.4, *actu otiosis simillimum*) *ac mollitiis paene ultra feminam fluens . . .*

²⁰² Tacitus *Ann.* 4.1, *corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax* (Velleius 2.127.3, *laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis*), *sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor* (Velleius 2.127.4, *nihil sibi vindicantem . . . semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem*), *intus summa apiscendi libido* (Velleius, *eoque adsequentem omnia*), *eiusque causa modo largitio ac luxus* (Velleius, *hilaritatis . . . otiosis simillimum*), *saepius industria ac vigilantia* (Velleius, *animo exsomens*), *haud minus noxiae quotiens parando regno finguntur*.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 4.34, *accusabant . . . Seiani clientes. id perniciosum reo*; cf. Seneca *Cons. Marc.* 22.4; Dio 57.24.3, τῶ Σειανῶ προσέκρουσεν. Cf. n. 138 above and accompanying text.

ambivalent. In all the encomia Velleius liberally bestows on his contemporaries and their relatives there is nothing equal to the intricate characterization of the man from Vulsinii.²⁰⁴ Some weight may be given to the fact that the obvious literary parallels for Velleius' *tour de force* on Seianus are Livy's description of Hannibal²⁰⁵ and Sallust's portrait of Catiline.²⁰⁶ It would be naïve to regard the family resemblance as accidental. Velleius has used some of the materials for the portrayal of the demonic man — a type hardly congenial to the oligarchic outlook shared by the Princeps and his loyal admirer. It was a hint; and Maecenas was another.

On top of all this, there is a simple observation to be made. If Velleius were so ardent a supporter of Seianus as some have supposed, why should he be in such anxiety and haste to celebrate, commemorate, and immortalize the consulship of Vinicius? Why was the work not dedicated to Seianus? Why, indeed, did not Velleius wait to celebrate, commemorate, and immortalize the consulship of Seianus? Would not that have provided a far more satisfactory and appropriate era?

The senatorial historian was a child of his times. He had spent his latter years in a Senate which disgusted Tiberius by its servility.²⁰⁷ He had had to learn the arts of survival. In the struggle for power and supremacy that was gathering momentum as he wrote, Seianus might well triumph, and Velleius (and the smooth Vinicius) would have to live with it. Hence the long eulogy, only delicately shaded with reservations and insinuations. But the idea that the historian was enthusiastic about Seianus' prospective ascendancy is based on an insufficiently attentive reading of his words.

The closing chapters of Velleius' *volumen* are a poignant document of the year 30, a year of high political drama. The senatorial aristocracy discovered to their consternation that a municipal upstart from the equestrian ranks was to be catapulted to the head of their order — and beyond. Their traumatic state of mind is murkily reflected in the pages of Velleius Paterculus.

²⁰⁴ Thus the brilliant tension is lacking in the brief and relaxed sketch of L. Calpurnius Piso Pontifex, 2.98.3; *de quo viro hoc omnibus sentiendum ac praedicandum est, esse mores vigore ac lenitate mixtissimos et vix quemquam reperiri posse, qui aut otium validius diligit aut facilius sufficiat negotio et magis quae agenda sunt curet sine ulla ostentatione agendi*; cf. also 2.105.2 (Sentius Saturninus).

²⁰⁵ Livy 21.4.

²⁰⁶ Sallust *Cat.* 5 (also the model for Tacitus' portrait of Seianus; cf. Syme, *Tacitus* 353).

²⁰⁷ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 3.65; Syme, *Tacitus* 428, 573.

At the end of the year 28,²⁰⁸ Tiberius had arranged the marriage of Germanicus' eldest daughter Agrippina (who was but thirteen years old)²⁰⁹ to Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, a young nobleman of splendid pedigree. Velleius does not fail to celebrate the simple virtues of Domitius and his clan.²¹⁰

There remained two other daughters of Germanicus, who were granddaughters of Tiberius and whose marriages were consequently of intense political significance. Drusilla, born at the end of 16,²¹¹ was therefore nubile from A.D. 29. Iulia Livilla, born early in 18 at Lesbos,²¹² became weddable in 30. Their marriages (to the *consules ordinarii* of 30) did not in fact take place till 33.²¹³ But the likelihood of betrothals or engagements earlier has to be borne in mind. Seianus, probably in 30, was affianced to the widow of Drusus, or her daughter.²¹⁴ There may have been a round of engagements, or understandings, at this time. Velleius, when he dedicated his book to Vinicius, may well have fore-known that his *amicus* was a candidate to become one of Tiberius' *progeneri*.

We now perhaps discern the reasons for Velleius' anxiety to produce his work during Vinicius' consulship, and for the strange emphasis he places on that somewhat ephemeral event. In various ways publication at that particular time was meant to herald and promote the claims of Vinicius to membership of the imperial house — and more. By Velleius' efforts the consulship of Vinicius was to share a privilege hitherto reserved to the founding of Rome and the tribunician power of the *Principes*. When Velleius prays for suitable successors to Tiberius, he hopes to have planted the idea that the consul Vinicius is a powerful

²⁰⁸ Tacitus *Ann.* 4.75: the exact date may be 11 Dec., cf. *Latomus* 26 (1967) 417 n. 1.

²⁰⁹ Born 6 Nov. A.D. 15 (Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 4.280; *PIR*² 4.I641).

²¹⁰ Velleius 2.10.3, 2.72.3.

²¹¹ Cf. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* 4.280.

²¹² Tacitus *Ann.* 2.54; cf. *PIR*² 4.I674.

²¹³ Tacitus *Ann.* 6.15.

²¹⁴ Livilla, or Iulia: cf. *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 144 n. 44 on the problem (not seen as one in *PIR*² 4.I636). Iulia had been the wife of Nero Caesar, but the marriage was presumably dissolved when Nero was condemned in 29. The doubt about Iulia results principally from Tacitus' failure to notice the engagement to Seianus when presenting her matrimonial history in *Ann.* 6.27. However, it is possible that Tacitus omits the detail because it would have spoiled his point (it is alleged that Rome mourned because Iulia, the daughter of Drusus and once the wife of Nero, was reduced to marrying the grandson of a mere Roman knight from Tibur).

candidate. It is a pity we have been deprived of his Preface. It must surely have contained further clues in exegesis of the dedication.

It should be granted that the situation when Velleius began his work had changed drastically by the time he finished it. In 29, after the fall of Agrippina and Nero Caesar, the power of Seianus was palpable to all.²¹⁵ But it could still seem to be in the category of the power of a Maecenas or a Sallustius Crispus. In 30, when Velleius laid down his pen, the prospects of Vinicius (and Domitius and Cassius) were apparently dwarfed and overshadowed by those of Seianus. The joint consulship with Tiberius and the imperial marriage connection, with the looming prospect of *imperium proconsulare* and then *tribunicia potestas*, must have made the outcome seem foregone. Against this background Velleius' audacity in presuming to allude to the succession at all deserves full recognition. What he presents in his closing sentences is essentially a plea for caution. Let the succession not be decided now, nor in the immediate future. Let the option of a plurality of successors be left open. The entreaty addressed to the guardian gods conveys advice it was impossible to thrust on the Princes.

The opinion has often been entertained that Velleius, seen as the "toady" of Seianus, must have perished in the slaughter that followed the favourite's downfall. The notion has been confuted more than once, but lingers on. In the first place, an unprepossessed reading of Velleius' work will reveal that he was devoted to Tiberius, not Seianus. It is therefore out of the question that he had any part in Seianus' supposed *novissimum consilium*.²¹⁶ Nor had his career owed anything to Seianus; there is nothing that makes him *Seiani cliens*. Moreover, "Vinicius, the special patron of Velleius, did not lose the Emperor's favour at Seianus' fall."²¹⁷ Why should one assume that Vinicius could not, if need be, protect Velleius? And for what would Velleius need to be protected? For the praise of Seianus? — in which, as we have seen, Velleius had protected himself, discreetly and well. There is of course not the slightest evidence for Velleius' destruction.²¹⁸ In short, we have no reason to imagine that the historian died anything but a perfectly ordinary death

²¹⁵ Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 5.4.

²¹⁶ On the *coniuratio* of Seianus, see Syme, *Tacitus* 405, 752ff; Ann Boddington, "Sejanus. Whose Conspiracy?" *AJP* 84 (1963) 1ff; H. E. Bird, "L. Aelius Sejanus and his Political Significance," *Latomus* 28 (1969) 85ff.

²¹⁷ Dihle, *RE* 8A.640; cf. Kritz, XVIII.

²¹⁸ The ruin of Velleius, a *praetorius*, would certainly have been recorded by Tacitus, hence it would have to be placed in the missing chapters immediately preceding *Ann.* 5.6. (Syme, *Tacitus* 368, compares Brutteditus Niger, but Brutteditus was a *delator* as well as a historian, *Ann.* 3.66.)

at some later time. He died with his *magnum opus* unpublished, and, for all we know, unwritten. He left two sons, and presumably a substantial fortune since both Gaius and Lucius Velleius Paterculus pursued normally successful senatorial careers as far as the consulship, which they apparently held in contiguous years, A.D. 60 and 61.²¹⁹ The historian would doubtless have been gratified to know that his family had finally made it to the top.

The prose literature of the early Empire, especially the writing of men involved in affairs of State, presents peculiar problems. There was no absolute despotism, so that silence was neither reputable nor respectable. There was no absolute freedom, so that candour was neither safe nor sensible. The writers of the age therefore developed special techniques of ambiguity, allusion, and insincerity. The acknowledged master of these arts is Cornelius Tacitus. Everyone knows that this author must be treated with extreme circumspection, and few would be bold enough to claim that they can see through *all* his subtleties and velleities. It is not so commonly appreciated that other writers of that era do not necessarily disclose their secrets at a glance. That this condition applies even to so despised an author as Velleius Paterculus has, it is hoped, been demonstrated here. There is more in Velleius than meets the eye.²²⁰

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²¹⁹ Cf. n. 124 (*med.*). As sons of a praetorian *novus homo* they would not be expected to reach the consulship before their 43rd year (Syme, *Tacitus* 653ff). Therefore, born no later than A.D. 18 and 19 respectively. This fits neatly with Velleius' *vita*. Absent from Rome almost uninterruptedly from 2 B.C. to A.D. 12, he probably did not marry till 13 or later.

²²⁰ The nucleus of this study was first presented as a Loeb Memorial Lecture at Harvard University in 1967 and was developed in a lecture at the University of Oxford and a seminar at the University of Leeds in 1968. It has benefited from discussion with several scholars at those Universities, and to them I express my gratitude.

FLAMEN AUGUSTORUM

DUNCAN FISHWICK

THE titles of the provincial priests of Spain display a remarkable diversity. In Lusitania the priest is styled: *flamen provinciae Lusitaniae*, *flamen Augustalis provinciae Lusitaniae*; in Baetica: *flamen Augustalis*, *flamen provinciae Baeticae*, *flaminalis prov. Baeticae*, *flamen divorum Aug.*/*Augg. provinciae Baeticae*; in Hither Spain: *flamen p. h. c.*, *flamen Aug. p. h. c.*, *flamen Augustalis p. h. c.*, *flamen divorum Aug.*, *flamen divorum Augustorum p. h. c.*, *flamen divorum et Augustorum p. h. c.*, *flamen Romae et Aug. p. h. c.*, *flamen Romae et divorum Augustorum*, *flamen Romae divorum et Aug.*, *flamen Romae divorum et August. p. h. c.*, *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum*. What exactly does this great variety imply? Must one suppose different objects of the cult to match the various forms of title, as held by Toutain, to a lesser extent by Kornemann, and now again by R. Étienne?¹ Or can the problem be reduced to a simple question of nomenclature? In other words, are we confronted with stylistic variants, all of which denote a high priest charged with one and the same form of cult at the provincial centre? An answer which takes the latter view must also reckon with the possibility that the same title or variants of the same title may denote different objects of worship at different periods of the cult's development. Any solution must allow for the difficulties of working with evidence as piecemeal and hard to interpret as in the present case.

The problem can best be approached by considering the Greek titles of priests serving the ruler cult in the Eastern provinces. Here the main lines of the proper interpretation were laid down long ago by Dittenberger, Brandis, and Kornemann.² First, a glance at a selection of

¹ J. Toutain, *Les Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain* I, 1 (Paris 1905) 55; E. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Klio* 1 (1901) 111f; R. Étienne, *Le Culte Impérial dans la péninsule Ibérique d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Bibl. des écoles franc. d'Athènes et de Rome 191, Paris 1958) 162f *et passim*.

² W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 13 (1878) 72; C. G. Brandis, *RE* 2 (1895) cols. 480f; Kornemann (above, n. 1) 105-108. Their arguments are so obviously correct that it is unnecessary to go beyond the examples they themselves cite. My only reservation is that conclusions based on municipal texts do not *ipso facto* apply to provincial cult, which must surely be considered in its own right.

municipal texts. At Akraiphia an inscription dated A.D. 67/68 attests the title: ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ βίου καὶ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ (Dittenberger, *Syll.* II³ 814 = *IG* VII 2713). Since Nero is distinguished from the Σεβαστοί by καί, it is clear that the cult included the living emperor along with the divinised, here termed Σεβαστοί. With this may be compared the titles in an earlier inscription from Cos dated A.D. 54: ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν (Dittenberger, *Syll.* II³ 804). On Dittenberger's very probable interpretation Claudius Stertinus Xenophon was high priest of the deified rulers and priest of the Σεβαστοί — in this case the living rulers, first Claudius and then Nero. The text is an oddity insofar as different titles are used for divinised and for living rulers; as a rule the same title served for both. But it again shows that the cult included both the living and the dead and demonstrates the further point that Σεβαστοί can also be used of living rulers. Equally explicit are four second-century inscriptions from Sparta attesting an ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῶν θείων προγόνων αὐτοῦ (*CIG* 1375, 1405, 1363, 1364b).³ Taken together, the above texts point to the proper interpretation of an earlier municipal title from Magnesia dated to Claudius/Nero: ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν πατρίων θεῶν καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν (O. Kern, *I Magn.* 113, no. 5). As the norm was for municipal cult to include the living ruler with the divinised dead, Σεβαστοί (= *Augusti*) must here be a comprehensive term covering both the living and the dead.

A similar analysis can be applied with like results to the Greek titles of provincial priests. Here Kornemann's statement that the cult of one *divus* (Augustus) was widened by the inclusion of Livia, later *divi*, "und bald auch des jewels regierenden Kaisers" underscores the fact that the inscriptions themselves do not allow one to judge exactly *when* the living ruler was added to the cult of the *divi*.⁴ Thus on a Delphic inscription dated late A.D. 54 we have the title: ἱερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῆς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων (*BCH* 20 [1896] 710). Are the Σεβαστοί in this case the *divi* alone (Augustus, Livia, Claudius) or does the term already link the *divi* with the living emperor Nero?⁵ The inclusion of

³ The fact that the son of this priest is simply ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ (*CIG* 1364a) shows that the emphasis was placed more and more on the living ruler.

⁴ Kornemann, 106. As the discussion will show, the living ruler seems to have joined the *divi* in the provincial cults of Spain under Vespasian.

⁵ Kornemann gives A.D. 54 as the date for the extension of the cult of one *divus* into the cult of several *divi*; *ibid.* 108; so also Dittenberger, *Syll.* II³ 790 n. 2. Yet Claudius was the third important figure to be deified, Livia having joined Augustus in A.D. 42, and the plural Σεβαστῶν certainly can include a female

the living emperor is, however, clear in a text from Athens dated to Nero/Vespasian: ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ γένους Σεβαστῶν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀχαΐας διὰ βίου (Dittenberger, *Syll.* II³ 790). Even if the living emperor is not included under θεῶν Σεβαστῶν, which seems extremely likely,⁶ he must surely be understood under γένους Σεβαστῶν. Certainly one cannot think of successive emperors, as in the Cos inscription above, since a provincial priest served only one year.⁷ In inscriptions attesting provincial priests particularly of the Flavian and later periods the general development of the Imperial cult makes it well-nigh certain that the living emperor must have been included and it is significant that the title most commonly attested is ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν (*flamen Augustorum*); for example, in the cases of the provincial priest of Lycia⁸ and the priests of the κοινόν of the Macedonians⁹ and of the κοινόν of the Amphictyonians (Dittenberger, *Syll.* II³ 813a). But Brandis rightly stressed that this also applies to ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστῶν (*flamen divorum Augustorum*), which one occasionally finds as an alternative to the commoner ἀρχιερεὺς Σεβαστῶν; that is, despite first appearances it would be wrong to conclude from the title ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστῶν that the cult was directed only to divinised rulers.¹⁰ That θεὸς Σεβαστός can be applied both to the living ruler and to his deified predecessors is made clear by the usage at Pergamum. When Livia was consecrated and joined the first Σεβαστός as Σεβαστή, the divinised Augustus and Augusta were called jointly Σεβαστοί or θεοὶ Σεβαστοί. Yet under Hadrian we hear both of θυσίαι τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

diva with two male *divi*. Again, Kornemann seems to imply that A.D. 54 was also the year in which the cult of the living ruler joined that of *divus Augustus*. As regards provincial cult, there seems to be no evidence in the inscriptions he quotes to support this. In municipal cult, if Dittenberger's interpretation of *Syll.* II³ 804 (Cos) is correct, Claudius Stertinius Xenophon had been ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν θεῶν (Augustus and Livia) and priest of the living emperor (Claudius) between A.D. 42 and A.D. 54.

⁶ Dittenberger, *ad Syll.* II³ 790 n. 2; cf. also Claudius Stertinius Xenophon, who in the Cos inscription above is called ἀρχιατρός τῶν θεῶν Σεβαστῶν; that is, the divinised Claudius and the living Nero; cf. Dittenberger *ad Syll.* II³ 804, nn. 2, 9.

⁷ J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Band 6, München 1965) 153 with n. 5. The term διὰ βίου implies only the lifetime retention of an honorary title; cf. *flamen perpetuus* in Western municipal cult, also *perpetua* with the provincial *flaminica* (*CIL* II 4190); Étienne, *Culte Impérial* 237.

⁸ Kornemann, 107 n. 4, quoting Brandis (above, n. 2) cols. 473, 481 with refs.

⁹ Brandis, col. 473 with refs.

¹⁰ Brandis, col. 481; so also Kornemann, 106 n. 13; 109 n. 4.

and of ὑμνωδοὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ θεᾶς 'Ρωμῆς, both of which denote the living ruler.¹¹

The same arguments apply with equal validity in the West. Let us take a group of three provincial priests from Tarraco, all of whom can be assigned to the Flavian period:¹²

]rio Q. [fil. Gal.] Fus[c]o IIvir. flam. divi Claudi praef. orae marit. flameni divorum et Augustor. p. h. c. provinc. Hispania Citerior

(CIL II 4217)

M. Porcio M. fil. Gal. Narbonensi trib. mil. leg. XXII praef. alae Trac. Herclan. praef. orae maritumae flameni divorum Aug. provinciae Hisp. Citer. p. h. c.

(CIL II 4239)

Q. Licinio M. f. Gal. Silvano Graniano flameni Romae et Aug(ustorum) provinc. Hispan. citer. praefecto orae maritimae proc. Aug. p. h. c.

(CIL II 4225 = ILS 2714)

Q. Licinio Silvano Graniano flam. Aug(ustorum) prov. Hisp. citer. praefecto orae maritimae Laetanae procuratori Augusti C. Terentius Philetus domo Roma.

(CIL II 4226 = ILS 2714a)¹³

¹¹ Kornemann, 105f with refs.

¹² An approximate dating within this period holds good despite the fact that Étienne places the provincial flamine between a local municipal and an equestrian career, rather than at the end of the complete cursus, as Pflaum has now shown to be the rule: *Les empereurs romains d'Espagne*, Actes du Colloque International du Centre National de la Recherche scientifique (Madrid-Italica 1964 [1965]) 92-98; contra, Étienne, *Culte Impérial* 152-161. For further discussion see Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 123f; Fishwick, "The Equestrian Cursus in CIL II 3271," *Historia* 18 (1969) forthcoming.

¹³ *Aug(ustorum)* is surely the correct expansion in both inscriptions honouring Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus, since the plural occurs in CIL II 4217, 4239 (3329?) of the same period and in 4249 (= ILS 6933), 4235, which belong to the second century; cf. 4191, 4199, 4205 (= ILS 6929), 4222, 4228, 4243, 4247, 4258, which are all undated but possibly second century. Similarly *Eph. Ep.* IX 390 should probably be expanded to *flamen Aug(ustorum) p. h. c.*; *Aug(ustalis)* would in theory be possible here (cf. CIL II 4223 = ILS 6932), hardly so in CIL II 4226. For a municipal (undated) example of *flam(en) Romae et Augustor-(um)* (sic) see CIL II 4610. Conformity with the titles of other contemporary provincial priests at Tarraco is surely a much weightier argument than that adduced by Étienne (p. 293), namely that because the priests of the *conventus* bore the title *sacerdos* (n.b. not *flamen*) *Romae et Aug(usti)* (the singular is confirmed by AE 1897, 100: *sacerdos Romae et Aug. et eius matris*: Commodus) therefore the provincial title *flamen Romae et Aug.* must in the one case of Granianus be expanded in the singular; cf. Étienne's lists, 131ff. The weakness of this argument is shown by the fact that six priests of the *conventus* (Étienne, 182) were also provincial priests at Tarraco, where their title was *flamen p. h. c.* (*flamen Augustalis p. h. c.*: CIL II 4223). Comparison with the titles of other

If we make the justifiable assumption that the provincial cult of Hither Spain must have retained the same basic form over a given span of years — that is, that it did not alter from priesthood to priesthood during a few years of the Flavian era — the titles attested in the above inscriptions suggest a number of important conclusions. In the first place, the inclusion of Roma strongly implies that the living emperor shared in the worship. The regulation laid down by Augustus was that he might be worshipped outside Italy by non-Roman provincials provided that *dea* Roma had her place in the cult (Tac. *Ann.* 4.37; Suet. *Aug.* 52).¹⁴ If Vespasian was too discreet to play the second Augustus openly at Rome, his propaganda had no similar inhibitions in the provinces and Spain at least recognised that the emperor had a second founder.¹⁵ That Vespasian would very likely have followed Augustan precedent in associating himself with Roma in the provincial cult at Tarraco is further suggested by his action in creating the cult of the *conventus* of northwest Spain. Here, as under Augustus at Lyons, the cult was entrusted to a *sacerdos Romae et Aug(usti)*; that is, a priest serving the combined cult of Roma and the living ruler.¹⁶

But it is in any case difficult to conceive that the living ruler should not have shared in the Flavian provincial worship at Tarraco. One must always remember that the Imperial cult was basically a political device designed to weld the empire together in loyalty to the head of the empire.¹⁷ This is the background to Krascheninnikoff's law whereby newly pacified territories received the cult before long-civilized provinces as one of the means of holding subject peoples.¹⁸ In the last decades of the first century, however, a new dynasty sat on the throne and it is significant that Vespasian was at pains to install a provincial

contemporary priests, whether Flavian or second century, shows, however, that *flamen p. h. c.* is simply the short form of the full title *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum*. It does not follow then that, because Roma is associated with the singular *Aug(usti)* in the local title of the *conventus*, therefore Roma must be associated with the singular *Aug(usti)* in the provincial title. On the contrary, there is every reason to hold that when *Aug.* appears in the title of a Spanish provincial priest, it should normally be expanded to *Aug(ustorum)*.

¹⁴ Nevertheless Roman provincials shared in the cult and both east and west worshipped the living Augustus without the inclusion of Roma; cf. *ILS* 9495; L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (Middletown 1931) 206f.

¹⁵ Étienne, *Culte Impérial* 447-451; G. Förschner, *Berliner numismatische Zeitschrift* 25 (1959) 3-10; 26 (1960) 25-32.

¹⁶ Étienne, 178-189, 291, 453.

¹⁷ Cf. Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 159.

¹⁸ M. Krascheninnikoff, "Ueber die Einführung des provinziellen Kaiserkultus im römischen Westen," *Philologus* 53 (1894) 169; cf. 175, 184.

cult in the Romanised, senatorial provinces of Narbonensis, Proconsularis, and Baetica.¹⁹ His purpose must have been mainly political, to enhance the prestige of the *gens Flavia* by an official cult in just those areas where the *domus Augusta* had never been worshipped at the provincial level.²⁰ The cult at Tarraco had, it is true, its origins under Tiberius,²¹ and it is understandable that it should have continued to honour the *divi*, particularly in view of Vespasian's respect for *divus Augustus* and *divus Claudius*.²² But that it should now have worshipped the hallowed Julio-Claudians alone, to the exclusion of the living head of the Flavian house, would have made no political sense at all. This point carries all the more weight if, as seems to be the case, the cult of the *divi* actually disappeared under Vespasian from the Acts of the Arval Brethren at Rome.²³ Conversely, from the provincial point of view it would be strange indeed if Vespasian had not been included in the provincial cult of Hither Spain, of for that matter of Baetica and Lusitania, in the light of his outstanding contribution to the development of the Spanish provinces.²⁴

We may conclude then that the provincial cult of Hither Spain must have included the living emperor in the worship. It is, however, clear from the term *divorum* (sometimes included, sometimes not) in the priest's title that the cult also included the *divi*. In that case, therefore, the cult at Tarraco closely resembled that of Eastern *κοινά* in combining the living ruler with the *divi* in a common cult served by the provincial priest. But if so, under what term of the priest's title is the living ruler included? Since he is not mentioned by name and cannot by definition be included among the *divi*, still less under Roma, he can only be included under *Augustorum*. Yet *Augustorum* is plural. Should one then say, as does Étienne à propos *CIL* II 4217, "Dans ce cas les *divi* sont Auguste et Claude, les Augustes désigneraient les empereurs vivants par opposition aux empereurs morts"?²⁵ There never was more

¹⁹ For Narbonensis see Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 30; for Africa Proconsularis see Fishwick, *Hermes* 92 (1964) 342-363; T. Kotula, *Eos* 52 (1962) 155ff; for Baetica see Deininger, *Madriider Mitteilungen* 5 (1964) 167-179; Fishwick (above, n. 12).

²⁰ See further my discussion in *CQ* 59 (1965) 155-157.

²¹ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 27f; Étienne, 143, 407.

²² Étienne, 450; Fishwick (above, n. 20).

²³ M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge 1961) 15-18.

²⁴ Cf. R. Menendez Pidal, *Historia de España* (Madrid 1935) II 300-305 with refs.; T. R. S. Broughton, "Municipal Institutions in Roman Spain," *Journal of World History* 9 (1965) 126-142, especially 136ff.

²⁵ Étienne, 133.

than one living Augustus in the Flavian period. Étienne's answer is "... mais pourquoi ne pas admettre que sous l'influence des *divi* qui groupent les empereurs morts, les *augusti* désigneraient les empereurs vivants, sans aucune référence précise à tel ou tel empereur régnant?"²⁶ Such an interpretation, whereby the object of the cult is "dead emperors and living emperors" in general, seems to me entirely impossible.²⁷ *Augusti* can have four possible meanings: (i) dead emperors collectively; (ii) dead emperors with the living emperor or emperors collectively; (iii) two or more living emperors jointly; (iv) two or more successive emperors. As regards the titles of the provincial priests at Tarraco the foregoing argument has already ruled out (i); in any case why say *divorum et Augustorum* if both terms mean *exactly* the same? An inscription is hardly the place for a literary hendiadys. Equally clearly, (iii) and (iv) must also be excluded: for one thing, there were never two living *Augusti* before A.D. 161;²⁸ for another, a provincial priest could not serve successive emperors since his tenure was limited to one year.²⁹

We are therefore left with (ii); that is, *Augustorum* in the title of the provincial *flamen* can only mean dead emperors with the living emperor or emperors combined.³⁰ Thus the sense of *Augustorum* is identical with that of Σεβαστῶν in the East. Though all *divi* are *Augusti*, not all

²⁶ *Ibid.* 292.

²⁷ Étienne, 163, speaks of a collective cult of dead emperors and living emperors without reference to a precise emperor from the end of Hadrian's reign. Yet the formula *divorum et Augustorum* appears already under the Flavians: *CIL* II 4217 (4239 is a variant); cf. Étienne 292 with n. 8. Similarly in municipal cult Étienne remarks that the *Augusti* appear alongside the *divi* in the titles of municipal priests "dès Marc-Aurèle, en tout cas au 11^e siècle" (p. 235). There is in fact an example which Étienne dates at the latest under Trajan: *H. A. Epig.* 4-5, n. 559. At all events there are enough dated examples, not to mention possible examples that are undated, to disprove Toutain's thesis, *Cultes Païens*, I, p. 50, that *Augusti* necessarily denotes double emperors. One would agree with Étienne that fortuitously *Augusti* can occur in the title of a priest dating from a double reign; cf. *CIL* II 4514 (= *ILS* 6957); perhaps also, if Étienne's dates are correct, *AE* 1908, no. 149; *CIL* II 4610. But in order to argue that *Augusti* always means two or more living emperors the use of the plural would have to be restricted to the period after A.D. 161.

²⁸ Though Titus was virtually co-emperor, he was never Augustus himself but only *Aug. f.*; cf. Dessau *ad ILS* 253; Étienne, 448 n. 5, quoting examples on coins. The term to describe Vespasian and Titus jointly is *Caesares*; cf. my discussion of *CIL* II 3271 (above, n. 12).

²⁹ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 153; Étienne, 164f.

³⁰ I cannot accept Étienne's concept of "ce passage perpétuel des *Augusti* aux *divi*" or, indeed, anything in the final paragraph, p. 299.

Augusti are *divi*, for *Augusti* includes the living emperor or emperors. Furthermore the Tarraco inscriptions clarify and confirm the conclusions we have drawn from the titles of Eastern priests in that: (i) *flamen divorum et Augustorum p. h. c.* means the *divi* and past and present *Augusti*;³¹ this is partly tautologous insofar as past *Augusti* are necessarily *divi*;³² (ii) *flamen divorum et Augustorum p. h. c.* and *flamen divorum Augustorum p. h. c.* are simply stylistic variants of the same title. In other words *flamen divorum Augustorum p. h. c.* no more excludes the living emperor than does ἀρχιερεὺς θεῶν Σεβαστῶν. That the titles are synonymous and interchangeable follows from the circumstance that both forms are found with the provincial *flamen* of Tarraconensis during the same (Flavian) period. Some further points that emerge are: (i) *flamen Augustorum p. h. c.* means exactly the same as the longer titles. For if *Augustorum* denotes past and present *Augusti*, past *Augusti* are necessarily *divi*; (ii) *flamen p. h. c.*, the shortest form of the provincial priest's title, denotes exactly the same as the other variants. For Flavian examples of *flamen p. h. c.* see, for example, *CIL* II 2637, 4251 (= *ILS* 2711), 4212(?); cf. also the Antonine (?) priest L. Valerius Propinquus, who on two inscriptions from Dianium is simply *flamen p. h. c.* (*CIL* II 3584f) but on the official inscription at Tarraco is styled *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum* (*CIL* II 4250); (iii) since Roma is sometimes included, sometimes not, it seems safe to hold that she regularly shared in the provincial cult at Tarraco from the time of Vespasian;³³ cf. *CIL* II 4225 (= *ILS* 2714). Comparison of this inscription with *CIL* II 4226 (= *ILS* 2714a) shows the danger of arguing from the omission of Roma in the priest's title that she was necessarily absent from the cult at the provincial centre; (iv) *flamen Augustalis p. h. c.*, of which there is an example at Tarraco (*CIL* II

³¹ *Contra*, Étienne, 292 n. 2 *ad CIL* II 4514 (= *ILS* 6957): *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum* (A.D. 161–169), “ici le titre même distinguant les *divi* et les *augusti* donne tort à Kornemann,” *Klio* 1 (1901) 106 n. 13; 109 n. 4 “qui veut inclure dans les *augusti* les *divi*.” On the contrary, the distinction surely supports Kornemann's thesis, for though all *divi* are *Augusti* not all *Augusti* are *divi*, more particularly the reigning emperor(s) was not and could not be. Since *CIL* II 4514 is securely dated to the double reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, *Augusti* can perfectly well denote in this particular case the *divi* plus the two reigning *Augusti*. This would also be true of *AE* 1908, no. 149, and *CIL* II 4610, if in fact these date from a double reign; cf. above, n. 27.

³² Deceased emperors who were not deified were, of course, also *Augusti*, but this is beside the point since emperors who were not deified were not included in the cult.

³³ *Contra*, Kornemann (above, n. 2) 111f, who put the introduction of Roma under Trajan or Hadrian; cf. Krascheninnikoff (above, n. 18) 175f n. 132.

4223 = *ILS* 6932; cf. *CIL* II 41*: Lusitania; *CIL* II 3271: Baetica, though found at Castulo), is yet another variant denoting a priest charged with the same form of cult.³⁴ This is further indicated, if not exactly proved, by comparing the career of L. Iunius Maro Aemilius Paternus (*CIL* II 4223) with, say, the roughly contemporary career of Memmius Barbarus (*CIL* II 2638: Flavian or early Trajan). Whereas both had been *sacerdos Romae et Aug(usti)* at the *conventus* before gaining the provincial priesthood, the provincial title at Tarraco was in the first case *flamen Augustalis p. h. c.*, in the second *flamen p. h. c.*³⁵

We must therefore conclude that despite their great variety the various titles of the provincial priests of Hither Spain denote one and the same thing: a provincial cult served by the high priest at Tarraco, the object of which was the divinised emperors, the living ruler or rulers, and the goddess Roma. This thesis holds good for the Flavian period and onwards. What the character of the provincial cult was before this time is hard to say since the only pre-Flavian inscription seems to be *CIL* II 4188, where the priest's title, *flamen p. h. c.*, offers no clue. Otherwise all we know is that in A.D. 15 Tiberius gave permission to the Spaniards to erect a temple to Augustus at Tarraco — undoubtedly as the nodal point for the new provincial worship.³⁶ A good deal of argument has centred around Tacitus' words: *templum ut in colonia Tarraconensi strueretur Augusto petentibus Hispanis permissum, datumque in omnes provincias exemplum* (*Ann.* 1.78).³⁷ In view of the date and Tiberius' concern for the cult of the divinised Augustus, the only possible interpretation is surely that the temple was dedicated to *divus Augustus*

³⁴ Kornemann's thesis, *ibid.* 111, that *flamen Augustalis* means *flamen divi Augusti* was based on Hübner's reading of *CIL* II 473, now shown to be incorrect: Étienne 124f with refs.; see further my discussion of this inscription in *AJP* 91 (1970). Otherwise there is *CIL* II 41* which records a dedication to *divus Augustus* by a *flamen Augustalis* of the province of Lusitania. Hübner took this to be a false inscription, Krascheninnikoff treated it as genuine (above, n. 18), 177 n. 138. If Krascheninnikoff is right, it would presumably be assignable to the time when the provincial cult of Lusitania still focused strongly on *divus Augustus*. Apart from the debatable evidence of this stone there seems nothing definite to support Kornemann's view that *flamen Augustalis* was the original form of the provincial title. One would have thought that *Augustalis* is simply a variant title that denotes the same form of cult as other priestly titles of the period when it occurs. Étienne's interpretation seems to vary; cf. pp. 162, 163, 292.

³⁵ Similarly the *conventus* title is the same or very nearly the same in *CIL* II 2637, 6093, 6094; *AE* 1897, 100; the provincial title in every case *flamen p. h. c.*

³⁶ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 121f.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 27 n. 2, with refs.; L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriau, *Le Culte des Souverains* (Tournai 1956) 340, where the temple is taken to be probably municipal.

and that the example given to all the provinces — Tacitus does not say the example was followed — was therefore that of the cult of *divus Augustus* at a temple.³⁸ Did Roma share in the cult at Tarraco from the first? There is no evidence for her inclusion but, as Deininger has pointed out, when we have only one inscription before the Flavian period, lack of evidence is hardly an argument.³⁹ Furthermore, the discussion of inscriptions *CIL* II 4225f (= *ILS* 2714, 2714a) above shows that Roma can be included in the cult even at a time when she does not figure in some particular title that has happened to survive. On the whole, however, it seems unlikely that she would have shared in the original form of the cult at Tarraco. The rule, at least in provincial cults, is for Roma to be linked with the *living* ruler,⁴⁰ whereas the temple at Tarraco must have been to the deified Augustus. A significant factor here is that Hither Spain was well Romanised and conservative and although one obviously should not make too much of Tiberius' or Claudius' "refusals" of divine honours, especially when the trend more

³⁸ Cf. the *templum divi Augusti in Palatio* begun by Tiberius; Cerfaux-Tondrau (above, n. 37) 339 n. 12, with refs. In Lugdunensis the cult of Roma and the living Augustus was linked with an *altar* (Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 22 n. 3 with refs.). When a temple was later added, past emperors were included in the cult, apparently both at the altar and at the temple. Later the altar was reserved for the living ruler(s); cf. the priests' title *sacerdos ad aram Caes(aris) n. / Caess. nn. apud templum Romae et Aug(ustorum)*; cf. Kornemann (above, n. 2) 108–110.

³⁹ Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 123. It is possible that Roma appears in municipal cult under Augustus at Tarraco (*CIL* II 6097) and at Clunia (*CIL* II 2782). On the interpretation of the Clunia inscription see below, n. 40. For two municipal priests of Roma and Augustus at Castulo see *AE* 1958, nos. 5, 7.

⁴⁰ Cf. Deininger, Index s.v. Roma. Although Roma occasionally had a cult of her own, the cult of Roma and *divus Caesar* at Ephesos and Nikaia (see Dio Cassius 51.20.7) seems to have been unique in associating Roma with a *divus*. *CIL* II 2782 (Clunia) attests a *flamen Romae et divi Augusti* whom Étienne took to be a municipal *flamen* of Roma and the divinised Augustus in the reign of Tiberius. If so, this would seem to be the only example in Spain of a municipal *flamen* of Roma and *divus Augustus*. As Étienne notes, however, this *flamen* has the same name as a Calvisius Sabinus who triumphed in 28 B.C.; *Culte Impérial* 206 n. 4 with refs. In that case, if the two are one and the same person, it is not impossible that Calvisius Sabinus served the cult of Roma and the living Augustus and that *divus* is simply a chronological indication that the inscription was set up after Augustus' death; cf. the discussion of *CIL* II 4230, below, n. 43. Alternatively, one may think of a cult of Roma and Augustus which continued to flourish after Augustus' death; cf. *CIL* X 5393 (= *ILS* 6286); *CIL* V 3936 (= *ILS* 1348): both Julio-Claudian. But there seems to be no evidence for a cult of Roma and *divus Augustus ab initio*.

and more was to consider the living ruler a *praesens deus*,⁴¹ it is difficult to think that the living emperor would have shared in the official cult at Tarraco under the Julio-Claudians. Certainly there is no evidence for it. It was one thing for members of the ruling dynasty to have a *flamen* during their lifetime in municipal cult (cf. *CIL* II 49, 2038–2040, 3350), quite another for the living emperor officially to be paid cult at the provincial centre. The most likely development would seem to have been that the provincial cult at Tarraco centred originally on *divus Augustus*, alongside whom *diva Augusta* (A.D. 42) and presumably *divus Claudius* (A.D. 54) eventually took their place.⁴² Under Vespasian came the significant change when the cult of the living ruler and Roma was grafted onto the existing cult of the *divi*.⁴³ From this time onwards the provincial cult closely resembled municipal cult, which on Étienne's lists had worshipped Roma and Augustus or individual *divi* even under the Julio-Claudians.⁴⁴

⁴¹ On the refusal formula see especially L. R. Taylor in *TAPA* 60 (1929) 87–101; M. P. Charlesworth in *PBSR* 15 (1939) 1–10. On the trend of the ruler cult under Claudius see the bibliography cited by Cerfaux–Tondriau (above, n. 37) 348 n. 8.

⁴² *Divus Claudius* might have been temporarily displaced in the interval between Nero's destruction of his temple on the *mons Caelius* (begun by Agrippina) and its completion by Vespasian. For the elevation of Livia compare her entry under Claudius into the old temple of *divus Augustus* on the Palatine: *CIL* VI 4222, 2035, lines 13ff. The temple seems to have been eventually converted into one for all *divi* with an individual chapel for each; cf. Kornemann (above, n. 2) 116f, noting that the development in Rome must have provided the model in the provinces for the extension of the cult of *divus Augustus* into the cult of all the *divi* collectively.

⁴³ Apart from the priestly titles the only inscription which yields any clue to the nature of the worship is *CIL* II 4230 (= *ILS* 6930) recording that the province chose Cn. Numisius Modestus . . . *ad statuas aurandas divi Hadriani* . . . What is not immediately clear is whether this commission was to gild a statue of *divus Hadrianus* or whether the statue was of the living Hadrian, the inscription itself being *post mortem*. Since, however, the cult at Tarraco now honoured the *divi* collectively, it seems improbable that the statue of a single *divus* would be gilded. The more likely view is that the statue was of the living emperor, as Henderson first suggested, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 76–138* (London 1923) 83. To gild the statue would have a special significance in the worship of the living ruler and would therefore be important evidence for the cult of the reigning emperor — with, of course, Roma; cf. the contemporary priestly title of *CIL* II 4249 (= *ILS* 6933): *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum* (Modestus' title was simply *flamen p. h. c.*, not *flamen Romae divorum et Augustorum*, as given by Étienne, p. 132). On the significance of statues in precious metals in the ruler cult see K. Scott, *TAPA* 62 (1931) 101–123.

⁴⁴ *Culte Impérial*, 205ff.

A similar picture very likely holds true for Lusitania, where in all probability the origins of the provincial cult also go back to Tiberius.⁴⁵ In Lusitania most of the priestly titles that have survived give no clue to the character of the cult. A recently published inscription from Santarem, however, shows that in the first half of A.D. 48 the provincial priest at Emerita bore the title *flamen provinc(iae) Lusitaniae divi Aug(usti) [et?] divae Aug(ustae)*.⁴⁶ With this may be compared *CIL* II 473, also from Emerita, a dedication to *divus Augustus* made by the *flamen divae Aug(ustae) provinciae Lusitan(iae)*. Presumably this, too, is to be dated between A.D. 42 and A.D. 54, when the provincial cult was directed to Augustus and Livia.⁴⁷ More significant in the light of the conclusions reached for Tarraconensis is a provincial dedication from Emerita of a gold statue of Titus dated A.D. 77/78 (*CIL* II 5264 = *ILS* 261 = *AE* 1957, no. 251).⁴⁸ As the provincial *flamen* is named after the propraetorian legate, the erection of a gold statue can legitimately be interpreted as a cult act by the province directed to Titus in his lifetime.⁴⁹ Thus the inscriptions themselves from the provincial centre at Emerita strongly support the view that Vespasian added the worship of the living ruler to the pre-existing cult of the *divi*. There is no mention of Roma, but if out of seventy or more surviving inscriptions from Tarraco Roma is mentioned in the titles of only about one in every six, whereas in Lusitania we have only eight, possibly nine, priests in all,⁵⁰ the argument *e silentio* is hardly decisive. All analogy suggests that, as at Tarraco, Roma formed part and parcel of the cult from the time of Vespasian.

Finally, Étienne is surely wrong in concluding that the provincial worship of Baetica paid cult only to divinised emperors.⁵¹ That the *divi* should share in the cult here as in the pre-existing cults of Tarraconensis and Lusitania is perfectly reasonable. But that the new emperor should have gone to the trouble of installing a provincial cult in Baetica with

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 126; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 29 n. 3.

⁴⁶ *Revista de Guimarães* 76 (1966) 30 = *AE* 1966, no. 177; cf. *CIL* VI 4222: ... *templi divi Aug. [et] divae Augustae*.

⁴⁷ See my discussion of this inscription (above, n. 34). Cf. also *CIL* II 41* (Conimbriga) which, if genuine, is also dedicated to *divus Augustus*.

⁴⁸ ... *ex auri p. V.*; cf. Étienne, *Culte Impérial* 125, 162 (Titus not Vespasian), 455; Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 29, 131, 153 n. 6.

⁴⁹ See above, n. 43.

⁵⁰ Cf. Étienne's lists 122, 126, to which add a further priest from Ossonoba (Deininger, 130 n. 11) and the new inscription from Santarem. Whether *CIL* II 41* is genuine is not entirely certain; cf. above, n. 34.

⁵¹ *Culte Impérial*, 162, 292 n. 7, 298, 300, 454.

the sole purpose of worshipping the family his own house had replaced on the throne is beyond belief. Furthermore, Vespasian's modification of the provincial cults of the two other Spanish provinces would, if correct, be decisive for the view that the newly created cult in Baetica must also have included the living emperor. The inscriptions themselves give no clue to the character of the cult beyond the titles of the provincial *flamen*. In six cases out of the eleven priests we have, the formula is *flamen divorum Aug.*, or a variant, which Étienne took to denote a *flamen* of the *divi*. But what the discussion has demonstrated is that this title is, in fact, synonymous with *flamen divorum et Augustorum* or with *flamen Augustalis* / *flamen provinciae*, which also occur.⁵² In Tarraconensis all these titles denote, from the Flavian period onwards, a priest who served the cult of the *divi* in combination with the living ruler and *Roma*. There can hardly be any doubt that they mean the same in Baetica; nor is lack of evidence for *Roma* in the surviving inscriptions any more an argument for her exclusion at Corduba than at Emerita. All the signs are that in installing a provincial worship in Baetica Vespasian would have framed it on the same lines as the provincial cults he reconstituted in Hither Spain and Lusitania.

The foregoing discussion has led to two important conclusions. First, despite their diverse formulae, the titles given to the provincial priests of Spain cannot be construed as indicating varying objects of the provincial cult. It is surely a priori unlikely that within a short period of time a province would have paid worship in one year to the living ruler and *Roma*, in another to "dead emperors and living emperors" — especially during reigns when there was only one emperor. The much more likely interpretation is that from the A.D. 70's onwards the three Spanish provinces had a uniform official cult which included both the *divi* and the living emperor or emperors with *Roma*. In Baetica, where Vespasian was the author of the provincial cult, this form of worship was that known at the provincial centre from its institution.⁵³ In Hither Spain and Lusitania it would appear that under Tiberius and his

⁵² See Étienne's lists 126, 130, to which add a new inscription from Corduba published by A. M. Vicent, *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispanico* 6 (1962) 423ff = *AE* 1966, 181; cf. J. Deininger, *Madriider Mitteilungen* 5 (1964) 173ff; *flaminalis prov. Baeticae* is another variant. On *flamen designatus* see Étienne, 162, 164.

⁵³ In Africa Proconsularis provincial priests date their term from an era beginning A.D. 70/72, and it is attractive, though by no means obligatory, to suppose that the provincial cults of Narbonensis and Baetica were instituted about the same time. If so, the reorganisation of the cults of Lusitania and Tarraconensis was presumably roughly contemporaneous.

immediate successors the object of the cult was originally *divus Augustus* followed in due course by *diva Augusta* and presumably *divus Claudius*. Not until the time of Vespasian were the existing cults of these provinces reorganised and brought into line with the one newly installed in Baetica. Here Vespasian's role was to adapt rather than to inaugurate. But this in turn brings out a second important conclusion regarding the nature of Vespasian's reforms. Whereas his outstanding contribution to the development of Spain in so many other ways is well attested and therefore well known, it has hitherto been supposed that in religious matters his work was limited to creating a new provincial cult in Baetica. The present discussion, based mainly on the titles of the provincial priests, has tried to show that Vespasian was also active in changing the fundamental character of the provincial cults at Tarraco and Emerita. Here the official worship was now modified to suit an age which no longer shrank from the notion of a god-emperor; and the same forms were given to the new provincial cult of Baetica. This is a new and significant point which chimes with so much else of what we know of Vespasian's reforms. In Tarraconensis and Lusitania, as in Baetica, Narbonensis, Proconsularis, Lycia, and Armenia, the reign of Vespasian marked an important stage in the development of the imperial cult.⁵⁴

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⁵⁴ For Lycia and Armenia see Deininger, *Provinziallandtage* 32. Whether the *arae Flaviae* at Rottweil (*Agri Decumates*) were instituted under Vespasian or Domitian remains uncertain.

ORIGEN, AQUILA, AND EUSEBIUS

T. D. BARNES

FEW false principles have so endeared themselves to students of the ancient world as that of "squaring the evidence." Among its classic exponents are to be found many writers on the Athenian Empire of the fifth century B.C. Thucydides states that, when the Delian League (or Alliance) was formed, some of the allies were to provide money for the common cause, others ships.¹ As for the collection of contributions, he continues (1.96.2),

καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή, οἱ ἐδέχοντο τὸν φόρον· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνομάσθη τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά. ἦν δ' ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς τετρακόσια τάλαντα καὶ ἐξήκοντα.

Two questions can clearly be distinguished. First, assuming the total of 460 talents to be authentic and accurate, did it comprise payments of money alone, or include a cash equivalent for the ships contributed by some cities instead of money? Second, which of these two possibilities did Thucydides intend to assert? Scholars' answers to the first question have naturally and inevitably differed, since two incompatible views of the original extent of the League's membership are at least arguable.² There is, however, a disturbing tendency to make the answer to the second question fit that to the first, so that everyone, whatever his views on the historical development of the League, can claim to have the support of Thucydides.³ That is surely illegitimate. Thucydides' words are unambiguous: τὸν φόρον is glossed as τῶν χρημάτων ἡ φορά, and ὁ πρῶτος φόρος ταχθεὶς came to 460 talents. Thucydides therefore states that the 460 talents comprised money alone⁴ — whether he was right or wrong is another matter entirely.⁵

¹ Thucydides 1.96.

² Cf. B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, and M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* 3 (1950) 194ff.

³ Note N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Greece* (1959) 257: "the total of money — called *phoros* . . ."; id., *History of Greece*² (1967) 257: "ships and money together made up the first *phoros*."

⁴ R. Meiggs, *CR* 66 (1952) 97.

⁵ M. Chambers, *CP* 53 (1958) 26ff, argues for a mistake by Thucydides.

A similar problem arises with a passage of Eusebius (*HE* 6.3.3):

ἔτος δ' ἦγεν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον (sc. Origen) καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως προέστη διδασκαλείου· ἐν ᾧ καὶ προκόπτει ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἀκύλαν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡγούμενον διωγμῶν, ὅτε καὶ μάλιστα διαβόητον ἐκτήσατο παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως ὀρμωμένοις ὄνομα δι' ἣν ἐνεδείκνυτο πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγνώτάς τε καὶ γνωρίμους μάρτυρας δεξιῶσιν τε καὶ προθυμίαν.

Elsewhere, Eusebius states that Origen was sixteen in the tenth year of the reign of Septimius Severus.⁶ By this he means either April 202 to April 203 (Severus was proclaimed emperor on 9 April 193) or 29 August 201 to 28 August 202 (Severus' tenth regnal year in Egypt), more probably the latter.⁷ Moreover, he assigns the death of Origen (at the age of sixty-nine) to the reign of Trebonianus Gallus (i.e. to 251–253).⁸ On Eusebius' chronology, therefore, Origen was probably born in 185 — though 184 and 186 cannot be absolutely excluded.⁹

The passage quoted appears to permit a deduction about the prefects of Egypt: on the strength of Eusebius' testimony, standard works of reference assign to 203 or even 202 the beginning of the prefecture of Subatianus Aquila, who is attested in office by contemporary papyri from autumn 206 to 210/211.¹⁰ Such indeed has been scholars' trust in Eusebius that they were prepared to discount documentary evidence. A papyrus dated to 209 was published in 1910, which *prima facie* implied that the prefect in 204 was not Aquila, but one Claudius Julianus.¹¹ Its publisher therefore conjectured that Subatianus Aquila was prefect twice, both before and after Julianus.¹² That hypothesis preserved the credit of Eusebius but was considered implausible by others, who adopted the view that Julianus was not *praefectus Aegypti* in 204, but merely a subordinate official.¹³ Again, a papyrus published in 1957

⁶ *HE* 6.2.2; 2.12.

⁷ On this point error and confusion are not absent from the discussions at *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968) 527; *JRS* 58 (1968) 41.

⁸ *HE* 7.1.

⁹ Cf. A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius* 2 (1904) 28: "185 (186)"; B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie*⁷ (1966) 197: "um 185."

¹⁰ *PIR*¹ S 681; L. Cantarelli, *La serie dei prefetti di Egitto* 1 (1906) 65f; A. Stein, *Die Präfecten von Aegypten* (1950) 111ff; O. W. Reinmuth, *RE* 22.2374. Rectification is now to hand: O. W. Reinmuth, "A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt 30 B.C. to 299 A.D.," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 4 (1967) 75ff, at 106ff.

¹¹ *P. Berol.* 11532 = *SB* 4639.

¹² F. Zucker, *Sitzungsber. der preuss. Akad. Berlin* 1910, 710ff.

¹³ A. Stein, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 5 (1913) 418ff. Followed by F. Preisigke, *RE* 10.2522; *PIR*² C 899; H. I. Bell, *CAH* 11.656.

unequivocally showed a Claudius Julianus to have been prefect of Egypt in the joint reign of Severus and his two sons (i.e. between 198 and 211):¹⁴ an attempt was then made to squeeze his tenure in after that of Aquila.¹⁵ Finally, in 1967, the misinterpreted documents were inspected anew, and two scholars independently proved that Claudius Julianus was after all prefect of Egypt in 203, 204, and probably 205/206.¹⁶ At the same time, a newly published papyrus removed all possible doubt: carrying the date of October/November 204, it refers to a letter τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Κλα[υ]δίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.¹⁷

Eusebius is therefore in error — that seems the obvious conclusion.¹⁸ But not all are fully convinced:¹⁹ perhaps the error belongs, not to Eusebius, but to his translators and interpreters, from Rufinus in antiquity down to the present day.²⁰ With almost one accord, they take Eusebius' relative phrases (καθ' ὃ . . . ἐν ᾧ . . . ὅτε καὶ . . .) all to possess temporal significance.²¹ However, if ἐν ᾧ could be referred to the *didascaleion*, then Eusebius' credit can still be preserved despite the fresh evidence.²² Yet the three relative clauses are clearly correlative,²³ and it is easier to defend Eusebius when the third is completely omitted from consideration.²⁴ Further, Eusebius was predisposed to crowd together all the known persecutions of Christians during the opening decade of the third century, and hence to associate the martyrdoms under Aquila very closely with those under Laetus, which he put in 201/202 or 202/203.²⁵ It is hard to avoid concluding that the interpretation which abolishes Eusebius' error involves special pleading.

An apt parallel exists. Some years ago it was acutely observed that the obvious and accepted interpretation of one passage in the second *Epistula ad Caesarem* attributed to Sallust precludes a date before the

¹⁴ *Acme* 10 (1957) 161f = *SB* 9393 = *P. Mil. Vogl.* 237.

¹⁵ M. Vandoni, *Acme* 10 (1957) 161f.

¹⁶ F. Grosso, *Rendiconti Lincei*⁸ 22 (1967) 55ff; J. R. Rea, *Parola del Passato* 22 (1967) 48ff.

¹⁷ *BGU* 2024.

¹⁸ *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968) 527; *JRS* 58 (1968) 41; *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969) 130f.

¹⁹ Note the hesitation of Rea (above, n. 16) 53.

²⁰ Grosso (above, n. 16) 59.

²¹ Rufinus *HE* 6.3.3 (on which cf. J. E. L. Oulton, *JTS* 30 [1929] 160f). Among modern English translations note those of H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton (1927), R. J. Deferrari (1955), and G. A. Williamson (1965).

²² Grosso (above, n. 16) 59. He cites in his favour the version of G. Bardy, *Sources Chrétiennes* 41 (1955) 87. The same view seems also to be shared by G. del Ton, *Scrinium Patristicum Laterense* 1 (1964) 438.

²³ Cf. Harnack (above, n. 9) 29.

²⁴ As in the quotation and discussion by Grosso (above, n. 16) 59.

²⁵ Cf. *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969) 131.

fall of the Roman Republic.²⁶ The adherents of authenticity, however, rather than relinquish a cherished belief, immediately espoused a new interpretation of the offending passage,²⁷ or else resuscitated an almost forgotten emendation.²⁸ The new interpretation then required a separate refutation.²⁹

All three cases (Thucydides, Eusebius, and pseudo-Sallust) point the same moral. The natural interpretation of any author should always be allowed due weight and should be elicited without reference to extraneous factors. Only after that is done ought one to ask what consequences follow. It is bad method, and often circular, to expound an author always in accordance with the prejudices of the exegete — or to interpret him in such a fashion that he always retains his reputation for accuracy even in the face of apparent refutation. In brief, many problems in history are such that the various items of evidence cannot be combined together or harmonised:³⁰ they are such that some testimony must simply be dismissed as erroneous.

Convicting Eusebius of error is not a trivial matter. The investigation of early Christian history is an arduous enough task, with evidence scanty and often hard to evaluate, and the ever-present danger of relapse into credulity.³¹ The temptation is great to accept Eusebius uncritically and to write modern histories of the earliest centuries of Christianity largely on the basis of his.³² But that procedure evades one of the central problems, which is precisely the quality of Eusebius as a historical witness.³³

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²⁶ Viz. *Epp. ad Caes.* 2.9.4. Cf. R. Syme, *Mus. Helv.* 15 (1958) 46ff.

²⁷ E.g. E. Malcovati, *Athenaeum* 36 (1958) 176; M. Gelzer, *Caesar*⁶ (1960) 167.

²⁸ Thus A. Rostagni, *Riv. fil.* 36 (1958) 102f.

²⁹ R. Syme, *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962) 177ff; *Sallust* (1964) 338f.

³⁰ Cf. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (1964) 119ff, esp. 123f, 156.

³¹ For some recent egregious examples of (Italian) credulity, see *JRS* 58 (1968) 32f, 39. The habit seems to be spreading to otherwise respectable quarters: observe P. Keresztes, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 61 (1968) 321ff. Keresztes opines that "the *Acts* of Felicitas and her seven sons is fairly generally regarded as authentic" (325 n. 2). To the best of my knowledge, not one reputable scholar of the twentieth century has treated them as anything but fictitious through and through. Already in the nineteenth, J. B. Lightfoot saw that "the childishness" of these *acta* "condemns itself by its own absurdity" (*The Apostolic Fathers. Part II. S. Ignatius. S. Polycarp* 1² [1889] 512).

³² Whence much of the structure of H. Grégoire, *Les persécutions dans l'Empire romain*² (1964) and W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (1965).

³³ *JTS* n.s. 20 (1969) 130f.

THREE PAPYRI FROM FOURTH-CENTURY KARANIS

GERALD M. BROWNE

THE following group of texts consists of three heretofore unedited papyri purchased by the University of Michigan in 1923 and 1924. One of them is from the same document as P. New York 21,¹ which is here reproduced with the kind permission of E. J. Brill.

I should like to express my gratitude to Dean Naphtali Lewis, who generously made available his transcript of an unpublished Columbia papyrus (P. Col. inv. 181[11]), and who also furnished a photograph of P. New York 21; and to Professor Herbert C. Youtie for permission to publish the texts from the Michigan collection. Dean Lewis and Professor Youtie are also to be thanked for their helpful advice and valuable suggestions. I am likewise indebted to Dr. Albert Henrichs, who provided me with a photograph of P. Mich. inv. 1413 (= no. 2 in the present collection).

NOS. 1 AND 2: RECEIPTS FOR DELIVERIES OF GRAIN

These two papyri contain receipts issued to transporters of the taxes in kind which had been brought from the village granary to the river ports of the nome. P. New York 5-11a and P. Mich. inv. 1409, published by R. Coles in *TAPA* 97 (1966) 61-66, bear a marked resemblance to the present texts. For a full discussion of this type of document, see P. New York 5-11a introd. and H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 81 (1950) 100f.

No. 1

P. Mich. inv. 1385 10 × 24.5 cm. Probably Nov./Dec. A.D. 326
or 341

Written in the same hand throughout, this papyrus contains three receipts issued in Choiak (Nov./Dec.) for delivery of grain taxes of the

¹ P. New York = N. Lewis, *Greek Papyri in the Collection of New York University* I (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1967). I shall refer to all other editions of papyri by the abbreviations in LSJ and LSJ Supp.

fourteenth indiction (325/326 or 340/341). The receipts were probably drawn up in 326 or 341, during the collection period of the same indiction. But the deliveries may be a year or more in arrears, as they are in no. 2, 16-23 (see also P. New York 5-11a introd. p. 11).

The recipient is Antiurius, son of Abous, who appears in the same capacity in P. New York 9 (A.D. 330 or 345).

Χοιάκ ις' κατέβαλεν Ἀν-
τιούριος Ἀβουῦ ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσ-
καιδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
ἄρτάβας δύο ἡμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (γίνονται) (ἄρτάβαι) β \angle γ ιβ. Ἀμμώνιος
σεση(μείωμαι). 5

Χοιάκ ι' κατέβαλεν Ἀντιού-
ριος ὑπὲρ κωμ(ητῶν) Κενοῦ Καρα-
νίδος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδι-
κτίονος πυροῦ ἄρτάβας δύο δω-
δέκατον, (γίν.) (ἄρτ.) β ιβ. Ἀμμώνιος σεση(μείωμαι). 10

καὶ τῇ κβ' ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀντιούρι[ο]ς
ὑπὲρ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδι-
κτίονος κωμ(ητῶν) Καρανίδος πυροῦ
ἄρτάβην μίαν ἡμισυ τρίτον
δωδέκατον, (γίν.) (ἄρτ.) α \angle γ ιβ. Ἀμμώνιος σεση(μείωμαι). 15

9 Καινοῦ. 14 ὑπέρ: υ corrected from α.

TRANSLATION

Choiak 16. Antiurius, son of Abous, has delivered for the fourteenth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, two and eleven-twelfths artabas of wheat, equal $2\frac{1}{12}$ art. I, Ammonius, have signed.

Choiak 10. Antiurius has delivered to the account of the villagers of Kainos, dependency of Karanis, for the fourteenth indiction, two and one-twelfth artabas of wheat, equal $2\frac{1}{12}$ art. I, Ammonius, have signed.

The 22nd. The same Antiurius [has delivered] for the fourteenth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, one and eleven-twelfths artabas of wheat, equal $1\frac{1}{12}$ art. I, Ammonius, have signed.

COMMENTARY

1 Χοιάκ ις': 12 December.

κατέβαλεν: παρήνεγκεν is more common in receipts of this type; see P. New York 5-11a introd. p. 10.

8 Χοιὰκ ι': 6 December. The deviation from chronological order indicates that these receipts are copies.

9 Κενοῦ (= Καννοῦ): this village appears as a dependency of Karanis also in P. New York 8, 5; 10, 7, 12. It was bound economically and administratively to Karanis in the same way as Ptolemais and Kerkesoucha (cf. P. Cair. Isidor. 22 introd.).

13 καὶ τῇ κβ': 18 December.

No. 2

P. Mich. inv. 1413 16 × 24 cm. Probably June/Sept. A.D. 321
or 336

This papyrus comprises five receipts, one of which has been almost completely washed away. Eight hands may be distinguished. The deliveries here recorded were all made by Heras, son of Sarapion. The same person is mentioned again in Ostr. Mich. I 631 (dated in the 2nd decade of the 4th cent.), in P. New York 11a, 181 (A.D. 327 or 342) and in P. New York 19 (c. 330–340). In the present text, one receipt (lines 16–23) records arrears for the eighth indiction (319/320 or 334/335), while the others list payments for the ninth. The text was probably written during the collection period of the ninth indiction.

Ἐπ[.] παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
ὑπὲρ ἐγᾶτης θS ἰνδικτίωνος
κωμητῶν Καρανίδος πυροῦ
καθαροῦ ἀρτάβας δεκαεπτὰ
ἡμισυ τρίτον, (ἀρτάβας) ιζ ∠ γ'' μόνας. 5
(2nd hd.) Ἡρώδης δι' ἐμοῦ υἱοῦ Χρήστου
σεσημείωμαι (ἀρτάβας) ιζ ∠ γ''.

(3rd hd.) Θῶθ ιγ παρήνεγκεν
Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος ὑπ(ὲρ)
θS ἰνδικτί(ονος) κωμητῶν 10
Καρανίδος πυροῦ κα-
θαροῦ ἀρτάβας τέσ-
σαρες δίμοιρον,
(ἀρτ.) δ Ψ μόνας.
Ἀρτεμίδωρος σεσημ(είωμαι). 15

VERSO

(4th hd.) Ἐπεὶ δ' ε' παρήνεγκεν
Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος
ὑπὲρ ὀγδώης ἰνδικ(τίονος)

κωμητῶν Καρανίδος
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ ἀρτά- 20
 βας δεκ[α]ἑξ ἡμισοι
 τρίτον, (ἀρτ.) ις ᾠ γ' μ(όνας). (5th hd.) Κασσιανὸς σεσημ(είωμαι)
 ἀρτ(άβας) δ[ε]κ[α]ἑξ ἡμι]σου τρίτον μόνας.

6 lines washed out; in a 6th hd. Σαραπίωνος can still be read in line 25,
 πυροῦ καθαροῦ (ἀρτ.) δέκα, (ἀρτ.) ι in line 28.

(7th hd.) Μεσορή ιγ' παρ(ήνεγκεν) Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίωνος 30
 ὑπὲρ ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίωνος κωμητῶν
 Καρανίδος κριθῶν ἀρτάβας δύο, (ἀρτ.) β μ(όνας).
 (8th hd.) Σαραπίων σεση(μείωμαι).

8 παρηνεγ' κεν Pap. 12-13 τέσσαρας. 16 παρηνεγ' κεν Pap. 18 ὀγδόης.
 21 ἡμισυ. 23 ἡμισυ.

TRANSLATION

Ep... Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the ninth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, seventeen and five-sixths artabas of pure wheat, $17\frac{5}{6}$ art. only. (2nd hd.) I, Herodes (through me, his son Chrestus), have signed for $17\frac{5}{6}$ art.

(3rd hd.) Thoth 13. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the 9th indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, four and two-thirds artabas of pure wheat, $4\frac{2}{3}$ art. only. I, Artemidorus, have signed.

(4th hd.) Epeiph 6. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the eighth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, sixteen and five-sixths artabas of pure wheat, $16\frac{5}{6}$ art. only. (5th hd.) I, Casianus, have signed for sixteen and five-sixths artabas only.

(7th hd.) Mesore 13. Heras, son of Sarapion, has delivered for the ninth indiction, to the account of the villagers of Karanis, two artabas of barley, 2 art. only. (8th hd.) I, Sarapion, have signed.

COMMENTARY

1 Ἐπ[.....]: either Ἐπ[εἰφ...] or Ἐπ[αγο(μένων)]. With the latter, the receipt, read from verso to recto, observes chronological sequence, and also records the arrears first.

6 Herodes appears as *hypodektes* in P. New York 11a, 4, 76, 80, 85, 90, 103; in P. Mich. inv. 1409 (TAPA 97 [1966] 61-66); and possibly in Ostr. Mich. III 1007, though the latter, dated in the late 3rd cent., is probably too early.

8 Θῶθ ιγ: 10 September.

16 Ἐπειφ 5: 30 June.

30 *Μέσσορῃ ιγ'*: 6 August.

33 A Sarapion also signs in P. New York 11a, 130, 138, 141, 160.

No. 3: CESSION OF LAND

P. New York 21 +
P. Mich. inv. 1415

P. New York: 6.3 ×
14.5, 4.6 × 5.8 and
6 × 24 cm.

P. Mich.: 18.5 × 19
cm.

Probably Jan./March,
A.D. 302

The present text was formed by combining the three fragments published as P. New York 21 with P. Mich. inv. 1415, hitherto unpublished. The resulting papyrus preserves only about half of the original document, and about 90 to 100 letters per line have been lost at the left. Nevertheless, enough remains to show that it is another copy of the contract partially preserved in P. New York 20, in which Aurelius Atisius transfers to Aurelius Heron a quantity of private and royal land. Because the fragments which constitute no. 3 provide the right half of the contract and P. New York 20 the left half, we are now in a position to restore the original with a high degree of accuracy. The editor of P. New York 20, without the aid of the Michigan papyrus, was nonetheless able to arrive at a very accurate reconstruction, and the only important change to be made is in the amount of royal land ceded: it is $7\frac{7}{8}$ arouras, not $1\frac{1}{64}$ as the editor of the New York papyrus thought. There are, however, numerous alterations to be made in language; consequently, as an aid to the reader, I have added in an appendix a revised version of P. New York 20.

A detailed listing of Atisius' holdings, contained in P. Col. inv. 181(11) ined.,² shows that he here cedes all of his property in the first and fifth *sphragides* in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis. The cession is described as being "without price, cession money, or any payment whatever" (no. 3, 10-11; P. New York 20, 12). That it was made in exchange for the payment of public imposts on the property was suggested by the editor of P. New York 20 and is confirmed by line 19 of the present text: ἀντὶ τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν. One naturally thinks that these are the current taxes, i.e. that Atisius agreed to cede the property to Heron without price if the latter would pay all the outstanding tax obligations. This is the view put forth in the introduction to P. New York 20. But the contract states quite explicitly that Heron will not assume

² Briefly described in introd. to P. Cair. Isidor. 2 and 6.

fiscal liability until the following year (no. 3, 15; P. New York 20, 17), and that Atisius is responsible for all the taxes due up to and including the present year (no. 3, 12-13; P. New York 20, 13-15). Atisius' liability for the outstanding taxes is also implicit in the clause stating that the arouras are καθαράς ἀπὸ τελεσμάτων πάντων (no. 3, 12; P. New York 20, 13). This phrase, though restored in both texts, is strongly supported by parallels (see below, note *ad loc.*). It is difficult to explain its presence if Heron had in fact agreed to take on the property still burdened with Atisius' taxes. Either we have an extremely careless job of drafting, or else Atisius was in such dire economic difficulties that he was willing to give his property away and still pay the current dues on it, if only someone would take over all financial responsibility starting in the following year. This interpretation is extreme, but the contract, taken at its face value, definitely points toward it. A parallel to this situation is provided by P. Cair. Isidor. 103, an offer to lease five arouras from the village *koinon*. There is to be no payment of rent, and the lessees are only required to pay all the public dues for the duration of the lease. The *koinon* was clearly overburdened by this parcel of land, just as Atisius was with his property; hence the eagerness in both cases to get rid of the land, to give it away free of price or rental, provided only that the future taxes be paid.

For a discussion of matters relevant to the present document, the reader is referred to the introduction and commentary of P. New York 20; P. Merton III 121 should also be consulted. In the transcription of no. 3 all passages which are found in the extant portion of P. New York 20 have been underlined.

[ἐτους ιη / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου
Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ (ἐτους) ιζ / Αὐτοκράτορος Καί]σαρος [Μάρκου
Αὐρηλίου Οὐ]αλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερ[μ]ανικῶν Μ[εγίστ]ων
Σαρμ[ατ]ικῶ[ν] Μεγίστων Περσικῶ[ν] Μεγίστων Βρεταννικῶ[ν]
[Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ
ἐτους ι / τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου] Κω[νστ]αντίου
καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐα]λερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Π[ερ]σικῶν Μεγίσ[τ]ων
Βρεταννικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπι]κῶν Μεγίστων <τῶν> ἐπιφανεσ-
(τάτων)
[Καισάρων μηνὸς — ἐν Πτολεμαίδι Εὐεργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινόιτου
νομοῦ. ὁμολογεῖ Αὐρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ] μ[η]τρὸς Θαλλοῦτος
[ἀπὸ κώμης Κα]ραγίδος ὡς ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα οὐλὴ κάτωθεν [γ]όνατο[s
.]....[.....].ω Αὐρηλίω Ἡρωῖ [Ἀ]πωνος μητρὸς
[— ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὡς ἐτῶν .. οὐλὴ ± 5 δεξιᾷ (?)

- παρακεχωρηκέσαι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωνι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν
ἅπαντα [χρόνον τὰς ὑπα]ρχούσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπο[γρ]αφίσας ὑπὸ
αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης παρὰ Σαβίνῳ κηνσίτορι ἀπογραφῆς
 5 [τῷ . . ἔτει καὶ . . (ἔτει) | καὶ . . (ἔτει) | μηνὶ Θῶθ κβ περὶ ὀριδοκτίαν
τῆς προκειμένης κώμης Καρανίδος (τετάρτης) (πέμπτης)
τοπαρχία]ς Ἡρακλίδου(ν) μερίδ[ος ἐπὶ μὲν τ]ῆς πρώτης σφραγίδος
ἐν τρόπῳ Ταλινάρτου λεγομένης ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς [σ]πορίμης ἀρούρας
τρῖς ὄγδοον τατρα-
[καί]εξηκοστὸν καὶ ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ δὲ
τῆς ε / σφραγίδος ἐν τόπῳ Τκαινπάῳ λεγο]μένῳ ἰδιωτικῆ[ς γῆς
σπορᾶ]ς ἰδ' ἔτους καὶ ἰγ' (ἔτους)[/ καὶ ς' ἔ]τους ἀρούρας δύο, ἔτι τε
καὶ ἐκκεχωρηκέσαι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωνι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς
 [εἰσιόντος ιβ' (ἔτους) | καὶ ιη' (ἔτους) | καὶ ια' (ἔτους) | διὰ παντὸς
γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράψατο ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς
ἀπογραφῆς ἐ]πὶ τῆς προκιμ[ένης α / σφρ]αγίδος ἐν τῷ τ[όπῳ
Ταλι]νάρτου λεγομένης βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἑξ ἡμίους
τετάρτου
[ὄγδούου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ἰγ' (ἔτους) | καὶ ιβ' (ἔτους) |
καὶ ε' (ἔτους) | ἀρούρης τετάρτου ὄγδούου ἐκκαιδεκάτου καὶ
ἀβρόχου] ἀρούρης ἡμί[σους ἐκκαιδεκά]τον ἐπὶ παντὸς [τοῦ]
ἀρουρηδοῦ ἢ ὅσων ἦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεον ἢ ἔλαττον, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀυσι
αὐτῶν ὀρίοις
[καὶ ποτίστραις καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ εἰσόδοις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρήσει
καὶ δικαίοις πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν συνήθειαν,]
ὧν γίτονες καθὼς ἢ προ[κιμέ]νη ἀπογραφῇ [περιέ]χι, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ
τῆς α / σφραγίδος ἰδιωτικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς γῆς πάσης οὔσης
 10 [ἐν ἐνὶ πηγμᾶτι ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Πτολλᾶ κτήσις ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν
διωρῶξ μεθ' ἣν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε /
σ]φραγίδος ἀρουρῶ[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν]ατολῶν Ταυη[μέρας κτ]ῆσις ἀπὸ
δὲ δυσμῶν Παησίου κτήσις, ἄνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ
[πάσης τινὸς γοῦν δόσεως ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων
πάντων, καὶ βεβαιώσειν τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωνι καὶ
τοῖς παρ' α[ὐτοῦ τὰ κ]ατὰ τὴν παραχ[ώρησιν] τῶν προκιμένων
ἀρουρῶν πάσῃ βαιβεώσει, ἧς καὶ παρέξασθαι ἀνεπάφους
[καὶ ἀνενεχυράστους καὶ ἀνεπιδανείστους καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ μὲν
τελεσμάτων πάντων, τῶν δημοσίων παντοίων σιτ]τικῶν δε καὶ
κριθικῶν κ[αὶ ἀργυρ]ικῶν καὶ ἀννωνῶ[ν καὶ] ἑτέρων παντοίων
ἐπιβολῶν καὶ τῆς θίας διατυπώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν

- [ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ιζ (ἔτους) / καὶ ι (ἔτους) / ὄντων πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ] καὶ τὴν [ἐ]πικιμένην ἐν τ[αῖς ἀρούρ]αῖς τῷ ἐν[εστῶτι] ἔτι σποράν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτισίῳ διαφαίρειν, ἀπὸ δαὶ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πάσης ἐνποιήσε[ω(ς)]
- [διὰ παντός, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τὸν Ἡρώνα τῶν παραχωρηθέντων καὶ ἐκχωρηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ κυριεύειν κ]αὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγινόμε[να ἀπὸ] τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐ<τυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔ>τους [εἰς τὸ] ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἀπ<οφ>έρεσθαι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν διοικῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῷ(ν)
- 15 [καὶ ——— τὴν βασιλικὴν γῆν ὡς ἐὰν αἰρήται καὶ διευθύνειν αὐτὸν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιό]ντος ἔτους τὰ δημ[όσια πά]ντα καὶ ἀνών[α]ς κ]αὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καὶ τὴν θίαν διατύπωσιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰ χρόνον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μὴ ἐπι-
[πορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀτίσιον μηδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μηδένα κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον καθ' ὄντιναοῦν] τρόπον[.....].ν ἀποστήσιν αὐ[τὸν π]αραρχῆμα τ[ο]ῖς ἰδ[ίοις] αὐτοῦ δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίσιν τὰ ἀναλώματα
[διπλᾶ χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν κύρια καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτισίῳ οὔτε μὴν τῷ ἐκχωρηθέν]τι Ἡρώνι ...[.....] αὐτὸν ἀλλάξε τὸν [ἔτερ]ον ἢ παραβῆνέ τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ
[καὶ αὐθαρέτῳ γνώμῃ ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ ἐκχώρησιν αὐτοὺς ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὀρθῶς καλῶ]ς γερον[έ]ναι ἐπερωτηθ[έ]ντες ὡμολόγησ[αν.] (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή [ὁ]μολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ ὀριοδικτίαν
[κώμης Καρανίδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας πέντε τέταρτον ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον τετρακαιεξηκοστόν,] ἔτι τ[ε] κ[αὶ] ἐκκεχω-
ρηκέναι[ι] [βασιλι]κῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρ[ούρας] ἑ[πτά] ἡμισυ τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἰ γιτνίαι πρόκινται, ἀντὶ τῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν
- 20 [πάντων καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως, καὶ βεβαίῳ καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι καὶ οὐδὲ παραβήσομαι ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος ——— ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτ]ου. (3rd hd.) [Αὐ]ρήλιος[ς] Ἡρ[ων] Ἀπωνος γέγονεν εἰς μαι ἢ παραχώρησις καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προ-
[κειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια πάντα καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶ]ς εἰσι[όντος] ιθ (ἔτους) / καὶ ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ια (ἔτους)] / ἐπὶ τὸν

ἄπα[ντα] χρόνον ὡς πρόκε[ι]ται, καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος
 [Θεονίνου οὐετρανὸς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτων.]

N.B. Obvious cases of iotacism are not noted.

3 κάτωθεν: ω corrected from ο. 4 ἀπογραφῆς: γ corr. from ρ; the scribe started to make a phi too close to the alpha; after the vertical stroke was written, the phi was rewritten at its proper distance. 5 ἰδιωτικῆς Pap. τετρα- 6 Ἀτίσιον inserted above the line. 7 βασιλικῆς: βασ corr. from ἰδι. 8 ἀρουρηδοῦ: 1st ρ corr. from δ. ὅσων, αὐτῶν: ω corr. from ο. ἐάν. 9 περιέχει. ἰδιωτικῆς Pap. 11 βεβαιώσει. παρέξασθαι: θ corrected, perhaps from τ (cf. line 14). 12 τε. 13 ἔτει, διαφέρειν, δέ. 14 ἔξ: ξ corr. from α. ἰδιον Pap. ἀπ<οφ>έρεσθαι: θ corr. from τ. 15 αἱ (= αἰ) Pap. 16 ἰδίους: ἰδ[Pap. δαπανήμασι: π corr. from ν. 17 ἀλλάξαι, παραβῆναι. 20 με.

TRANSLATION

The 18th year of the Emperor Caesar Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletian and the 17th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximian Germanici Maximi Sarmatici Maximi Persici Maximi Britannici Maximi Carpici Maximi Pii Felices Augusti and the 10th year of our lords Flavius Valerius Constantius and Galerius Valerius Maximian Persici Maximi Britannici Maximi Carpici Maximi the most noble Caesars, in the month . . . (day) at Ptolemais Euergetis in the Arsinoite nome. Aurelius Atisius, son of Hatres and Thallous, from the village of Karanis, about sixty years old, with a scar on . . ., acknowledges to Aurelius Heron, son of Apon and . . ., from the same village, about . . . years old, with a scar on the right (?) . . ., that he, Atisius, has ceded to Heron from the present for all time the following property which belongs to him and which was registered by him in the declaration made in the office of the *censitor* Sabinus in year x-x-x, on Thoth 22, and which is located in the *horiodeiktia* of the above-mentioned village of Karanis in the 4th and 5th toparchy of the division of Heraclides: in the first section, in the hamlet called Talinarty, three and nine sixty-fourths arouras of arable private land, and five-sixteenths of an aroura of uninundated land; and in the 5th section, in the locality called Tkainpao, two arouras of private land sown in year 14-13-6.

And Atisius has further surrendered to Heron from the auspiciously approaching year 19-18-11 forever the cultivation of the following property which the party of the first part, Atisius, registered in the same declaration: in the above-mentioned 1st section, in the hamlet called Talinarty, six and seven-eighths arouras of arable royal land; and other property, viz. seven-sixteenths of an aroura of royal land sown in year 13-12-5, and nine-sixteenths of an aroura of uninundated land, the

measurements in arouras of the entire area being whatever they are, more or less, with all their existing boundaries, conduits, sluices, entrances, and all other rights of use in accordance with the custom from the past to the present.

Of this property the adjoining areas, as contained in the above-mentioned declaration, are as follows: of the private and royal land in the 1st section, which is all in one block, on the east the estate of Ptollas, on the west a canal, beyond which there is waste land entirely unowned; of the arouras in the 5th section, on the east the estate of Tauemera, on the west the estate of Paesius.

[The transaction is] without price, cession money, or any payment whatever, in return for all the public taxes on the property.

The party of the first part, Atisius, will guarantee with full guarantee to Heron and his representatives the terms of the cession of the above-mentioned arouras, which he will deliver unencumbered, unpledged, unmortgaged, and free from all taxes — the public dues of all kinds, i.e. taxes in wheat, barley, and money, the *annonae*, all other impositions, and the imperial *delegatio*, from the past up to the month Mesore of the present year 18-17-10, devolving upon the party of the first part, Atisius, because the crop standing in the fields in the present year belongs to Atisius himself — and from private debts and every claim forever.

From now on Heron will exercise ownership and control over all the arouras that have been ceded and surrendered to him, and from the next auspiciously approaching year he will appropriate their produce and will have the authority to administer and manage the property and to . . . the royal land, in whatever way he chooses, and he will pay to the imperial treasury starting in the month 'Thoth of the auspiciously approaching year all the public dues, i.e. the *annonae*, all impositions, and the imperial *delegatio* for all time.

Neither Atisius himself nor anyone else on his behalf shall proceed against this property in any way, but, if anyone does proceed against it in any way whatsoever . . . , he [Atisius] will himself immediately remove him at his own expense and will further pay double the costs, apart from the fact that the aforesaid terms also will remain valid. Neither the transferor Atisius nor indeed the transferee Heron has the authority to alter . . . or to violate in any way any of the provisions written herein, inasmuch as they have entered upon this cession and surrender voluntarily and of their own free will. That this transaction has been correctly and accurately done, they have, in response to the formal question, so declared.

(2nd hd.) I, Aurelius Atisius, son of Hatres, acknowledge that I have ceded the following property which belongs to me in the *horiodeiktia* of the village of Karanis: five and twenty-nine sixty-fourths arouras, in all, of private land; and have further surrendered seven and seven-eighths arouras, in all, of royal land, of which the adjoining areas are mentioned above, in return for all the public taxes on the property including the imperial *delegatio*. I guarantee and will abide by all the terms and will not violate them, as stated above. In response to the formal question, I have so declared. I, Aurelius . . . , wrote for him as he is illiterate.

(3rd hd.) I, Aurelius Heron, son of Apon, have received the cession and surrender of all the aforesaid arouras and will pay all the public dues on them, including the imperial *delegatio*, starting in the month Thoth of the auspiciously approaching year 19-18-11 for all time, as stated above. In response to the formal question, I have so declared. I, Aurelius Ammonius, son of Theoninus, veteran, wrote for him as he is illiterate.

COMMENTARY

1-2 For the series of imperial titles, cf. P. Thead. 1, 1-2. The year is A.D. 301/302.

2 <τῶν>: omitted by haplography. The article is at times intentionally omitted before ἐπιφανεστάτων, but only when the latter immediately follows Μαξιμιανού (e.g. P. Cair. Isidor. 1, 21; 101, 19; SB III 6607, 2).

3 There is no room for both the Macedonian and Egyptian months, though such doublets often occur at this time (e.g. P. Thead. 1, 3; 2, 3). The mention of the standing crop (line 13) suggests Mecheir or Phamenoth (cf. P. New York 20, 3-4, note; P. Mich. VI 375 introd. p. 41).

4 δεξιᾶ (?): doubtfully read in P. New York 20, 5. It is preceded by either κνήμη or ὠλένη (see ed.'s note *ad loc.*).

4-5 A copy of Atisius' land declaration is preserved as P. New York 1; the date, unfortunately, has been lost.

5 τῷ . . . ἔτει κτλ.: for the dative, cf. SB VI 9618, 7-8.

Θῶθ κβ: 19 September.

In P. New York 20, 6 κώμη[s K]αβαν[ίδος] (τετάρτης) (πέμπτης) τοπ(αρχίας) Ἡ[ρακλείδου κτλ. should now be read. For the phrase, see P. Cair. Isidor. 5, 5-6.

6-10 The missing or damaged indications of the size, location, and

boundaries of the plots are restored on the basis of P. Col. inv. 181(11); see above, p. 321, and P. New York 20, 6-11, note.

6 σποράς: the ed. of P. New York 21, in his note to line 6, thought that σπαρείσης would suit the space better than σποράς. But the lacuna contains two final sigmas, whose horizontals are frequently lengthened in this hand. A similar phrase, with σποράς, occurs in line 8. After σποράς I have slightly altered, on the basis of a photograph, the printed text of P. New York 21, 6.

Year 14-13-6: A.D. 297/298. In the corresponding passage in P. New York 20 (line 7), the ed. restored year 13-12-5, probably because the same date appears in line 9.

6-7 Cf. PSI X 1144, 4-6 ἐκκεχωρηκέ[ναι τὸν Ψεν[κῆβκ]ιν τῷ[ι] Παώπι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν διὰ παντός τῆς γεωργείας . . . βασιλικῆς γῆ[ς ἀ]ρουρῶν [πέντε κτλ.

7 Year 19-18-11: A.D. 302/303.

διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς: P. New York 20, 8 has ἐδαφῶν [ἐ]ν τῇ ἀπογραφῇ. But δ[ι]ὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς, which refers to the declaration mentioned in line 4, fits the context better. The reading suits the exiguous traces (see the plate in P. New York, opposite p. 48); in particular the upsilon seems fairly secure.

The printed edition of P. New York 21 has been slightly altered at this point from a photograph.

8 ἄλλων: sc. ἐδαφῶν or ἀρουρῶν. P. New York 20, 8-9 should now read τετάρ]του ὁ[γδὸ]ρου καὶ ἄλλων.

Year 13-12-5: A.D. 296/297.

ἡμ[ι]ς[σους ἐκκαιδεκά]τον: the ed. of P. New York 21 read ἡμ[ι]ς[σους τέταρτον ὄγδ]ρον. The present reading is based on P. Col. inv. 181(11) 55.

10 διῶρυξ μεθ' ἣν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου: restored from P. Col. inv. 181(11) 56 διῶρ(υξ) μεθ' (ἣν) χέρσος <ἀδέσποτος> διόλου. The phrase χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου is well attested (e.g. P. Cair. Isidor. 3, 13, 17; 4, 11; 5, 19, 29; BGU IV 1049, 8), and the omission of ἀδέσποτος in the Columbia papyrus is to be regarded as a blunder.

ἀρουρῶ[ν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν]ατρολῶν: the ed. of P. New York 21 has ἀρουρῶ[ν . . . ἀπὸ μὲν ἀν]ατρολῶν, but the lacuna need not be so long. The size of letters, particularly alpha, varies considerably in this hand.

11 ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων: restored on the basis of lines 19-20 and P. New York 20, 22.

12 The restoration of the first part of the line is that used by the ed. of P. New York 20, 13. It may be supported by numerous parallels (see the list in BGU VII 1642, 10-11, note). Further, ἀπὸ δαὶ (= δέ)

ιδιωτικῶν, line 13, requires ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων *aut sim.* (cf. CPR 4, 18–20). What cannot be paralleled is the insertion of the gen. abs., τῶν δημοσίων . . . ὄντων πρὸς τὸν . . . Ἀτίσιον . . ., between ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων πάντων and ἀπὸ δαὶ ιδιωτικῶν. But the meaning is clear enough: the property ceded is delivered free from all taxes through the current year because Atisius undertakes to pay them.

14 εὐ<τυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔ>τους: see P. New York 21, 14, note.

15 At the beginning of the line perhaps read καὶ ἐκχωρεῖν *aut sim.* For the pertinence of referring to royal land at this point, see P. New York 20, 16–17, note.

16 Unless the writing is very cramped, there is no room after ἐπελευσόμενον for ἡ ἐμποησόμενον, despite its occurrence in P. New York 20, 18. After τρόπον the ed. of P. New York 21 read ἐπ' ἀσφαλ[ι] . . .]ων, but the writing is too faded to support it; further, there is no room for such a phrase in P. New York 20. I should prefer to read τρόπον ἡ ἐμποη[σόμενον]ον and assume that the scribe, having inadvertently omitted ἡ ἐμποησόμενον after ἐπελευσόμενον, added it after τρόπον.

17 διπλᾶ: see P. Thead. 1, 16; 2, 14; P. Osl. II 31, 24.

οὔτε μὴν: P. New York 20, 19 has οὔτε μῆ; μῆ should be corrected. See Denniston, *Greek Particles*², p. 341; cf. SB VI 9011, 14.

After Ἡρωι perhaps περὶ [τὸν λόγον] αὐτόν, “concerning the wording itself.” For λόγος in this sense, see P. Cair. Isidor. 82, 12, note, where the phrase ἀλλάξαι τὸν ἕτερον is also discussed.

17–18 ἐκουσίῳ [καὶ ἀνθαιρέτῳ γνώμῃ: same phrase in P. Cair. Isidor. 81, 27.

18 The reading of P. New York 21 has been slightly changed on the basis of a photograph.

21 There is no room for the entire series of taxes which appears in line 15. The restoration is based on P. New York 20, 22.

APPENDIX

Revision of P. New York 20

[ὑπατίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμια]νοῦ τῶν ἐπιφ[ανεσ]τάτῳν
[Κα]ισάρω[ν τὸ δ/ (4th hd.) κατεχω(ρίσθη) ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ιζ (ἔτους) / καὶ ι
(ἔτους) / month, day.]

(1st hd.) [ἔτους ιη / Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γα]ίου Αὐ[ρηλίου] Οὐαλερίου
Διοκλητι[αν]οῦ καὶ (ἔτους) ιζ / Αὐτ[οκράτορος] Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων Σαρματικῶν Μεγίστων Περσικῶν
Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν]

[Μεγίστων Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σ]εβ[αστ]ῶν καὶ ἔτ[ους ι / τ]ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
Φ[λαο]νίου Οὐαλερίου Κ[ωνσταντίου καὶ Γαλερίου Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ
Περσικῶν Μεγίστων Βρετανικῶν Μεγίστων Καρπικῶν Μεγίστων τῶν ἐπιφανε-
στάτων]

[Καيسάρων μηνός — ἐν] Π[το]λεμαίδι Ε[ὐ]εργέτιδι τοῦ Ἀρσινότου νομοῦ.
ὁμολογεῖ Α[ὐ]ρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρή μη[τρὸς Θ]αλλοῦτος ἀπὸ κώμης Καρανίδος ὡς
(ἐτῶν) (ἐξήκοντα) οὐλὴ κάτωθεν γόνατος ± 13 Αὐρηλία Ἡρωνι Ἀπωνος
μητρός — ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς]

- 5 [κώμης ὡς (ἐτῶν) .. οὐλῇ] δεξιᾷ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρω[νι]
ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπογραφείσας ὑπὸ
αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς γενομένης παρὰ Σαβίνῳ κηνσίτορι ἀπογραφῆς]

[τῷ .. ἔτει καὶ .. (ἔτει) / καὶ . (ἔτει) / μην]ῇ Θῶθ κβ περὶ ὀριοδικτίαν τῆς
προκιμένης κώμης [K]α[ρ]α[ν]ίδος [τετάρτης] (πέμπτῃς) τοπ (αρχίας) Ἡ[ρ]ακλείδου
μερίδος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς α / σφρα(γίδος) ἐν τόπῳ Ταλινάρτῳ λεγομένῳ ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς
σπορίμης ἀρούρας τρεῖς ὄγδοον τετρα-]

κα[ἐξ]ηκοστὸν καὶ ἀ[β]βρόχου ἀρούρης τέταρτον ἐκκαιδέκατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ε / σφρα-
(γίδος) ἐν τ[ό]πῳ Τκα[ν]ηπάω λ[ε]γομένῳ [ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιδ (ἔτους) / καὶ
ιγ (ἔτους) / καὶ ς (ἔτους) / ἀρούρας δύο, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐκεχωρηκέναι τὸν Ἀτίσιον τῷ
Ἡρωνι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος]

ιβ (ἔτους) / [καὶ ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ι[α] (ἔτους)] / διὰ παντὸς γεωργίαν ὧν ἀπεγράφητο
ὁ ὁμολογῶν Ἀτίσιος δ[ι]ὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀπογραφῆς ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης α / σφρα-
(γίδος) ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Ταλινάρτῳ λεγομένῳ βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορίμης ἀρουρῶν ἑξ
ἡμίους τετάρ-]

του ὁ[γδ]όρου καὶ ἄλλων βασιλικῆς γῆς σπορᾶς ιγ (ἔτους) / καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) / καὶ ε
(ἔτους) / ἀρούρης τετάρτου ο[γ]δ[ό]ρου ἐκκ[αι]δεκάτου κ[αὶ] ἀβρόχου ἀρούρης
ἡμίους ἐκκαιδέκατον ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἀρουρηδοῦ ἡ ὅσων ἐὰν ὦσι ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ
ἐλαττον, ἐπὶ τοῖς]

- 10 οὗσι αὐτῶν] ὀρίους καὶ ποτίσ[τρ]ες καὶ ἐκχύσει καὶ ἰσόδοις καὶ τῆς ἄλλαις χρήσεσι
καὶ δικαίοις πᾶ[σ]ι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν συνθήσαν, ὧν γείτονες
καθὼς ἢ προκειμένη ἀπογραφὴ περιέχει, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς α / σφρα(γίδος) ἰδιωτικῆς
τε καὶ βα-]

σιλικῆς <γῆς> πάσης οὔσης ἐν ἐνὶ πηγμῇ ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Πτολλᾷ κτήσ[ι]ς ἀπὸ
δὲ δυσμῶν διω[ρ]υς μεθ' ἣν χέρσος ἀδέσποτος διόλου, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ε / σφρα(γίδος)
ἀρουρῶν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν Ταυημέρας κτήσις ἀπὸ δὲ δυσμῶν]

Π[α]η[σ] / [ο]ν κτήσις, ἄνευ τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ καὶ πάσης τινὸς γοῦν δόσεως
ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ [αὐτῶν] δημοσίων τελεσμάτων πάντων, καὶ βεβαιώσειν τὸν ὁμολο-
γούντα Ἀτίσιον τῷ Ἡρωνι καὶ τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κατὰ τὴν]

παραχώρησιν τῶν προκιμένων ἀρουρῶν πάσῃ βεβαιώσει, ἧς καὶ παρέξ[σθαι] ἀνεπ[ά]φους
καὶ ἀν[ε]νεχυράστους καὶ ἀνεπιδανείστους καὶ καθαρὰς ἀπὸ μὲν τελεσμάτων πάντων,
τῶν δημοσίων παντοίων]

σιτικῶν ται καὶ κριθικῶν καὶ ἀργυρικῶν καὶ ἀννωνῶν καὶ ἐτέρων π[α]ντοίων ἐπιβολῶν
καὶ τ[ῆς] θείας κατατυπώσεως ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ Μεσορῆ μηνός
τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ιζ (ἔτους) / καὶ ι (ἔτους) /]

- 15 ὄντ[ω]ν πρὸς τὸν ὁμολογούντα Ἀτίσιον διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπικείμενην ἐν ταῖς ἀ[ρ]ο[ν]ύραις
τῷ ἔ[ν]εστῳ ἔτι σπ[ο]ρὰν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀτισίῳ διαφέρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ
πάσης ἐμποιήσεως διὰ παντός, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κρατεῖν τὸν Ἡρώνα τῶν πα-]
[ρ]α[χω]ρηθέντων καὶ ἐκ[κ]α[ρ]ηθέντων αὐτῷ ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ κυριεύειν καὶ τὰ
ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγινόμενα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξῆς εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ἔτους εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτὸν ἀπο-
φέρεισθαι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν διοικεῖν καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ — τὴν βασι-]

[λ]εικὴν γῆν ὡς ἐὰν ἐρῇται καὶ διευθύνιν αὐτὸν τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ ἐ<ὺ>τυχῶς ι[σ]ι[φ]ντος ἔτους τὰ δημόσια πάντα καὶ ἀνώνους καὶ ἐπιβολὰς πάσας καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν ἐπὶ τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μὴ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν]

τὸν Ἀτίσιον μὴδ' ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴδένα κατὰ μὴδένα τρόπον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐμποι[η]σόμενον καθ' ὄντιναοῦν τρόπον ἀποστήσειν αὐτὸν παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ δαπανήμασι, ἔτι καὶ προσεκτίσειν τὰ ἀναλώματα διπλᾶ χωρὶς τοῦ μένειν]

κύρια καὶ τὰ προγεγραμμένα, καὶ οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας οὔτε τῷ ἐκχωρήσαντι Ἀτισίῳ οὔτε μὴ<ν> τῷ ἐκχωρη[θέντι] Ἡρωνι ± 10 αὐτὸν ἀλλάξαι τὸν ἕτερον ἢ παραβῆναι τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων κατὰ μὴδένα τρόπον διὰ τὸ ἐκουσίῳ καὶ αὐθαίρετῳ]

20 [γ]νώμη ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν παραχώρησιν καὶ ἐκχώρησιν αὐτοὺς ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα οὕτως ὁ[ρ]θῶς καλῶς γεγονέναι ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμολόγησαν. (2nd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῇ ὁμολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι τὰς ὑπαρχούσας μοι περὶ ὀριοδικτίαν]

κώμης Καρανίδος ἰδιωτικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας πέντε τέταρτον ὄγδοον ἐκκαιδέκατον τετρακαιεξήκοστόν, ἔτι τε καὶ ἐκκεχω[ρη]κέναι βασιλικῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ ἡμισυ τέταρτον ὄγδοον, ὧν αἱ γειννίαί πρόκεινται, ἀντὶ τῶν δημοσίων]

τελεσμάτων αὐτῶν πάντων καὶ τῆς θείας διατυπώσεως, καὶ βεβαιῶ καὶ ἐμμενῶ πᾶσι καὶ οὐδὲ παραβῆσομαι ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερω[τη]θεὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος ——— ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου. (3rd hd.) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρων Ἀπωνος γέγονεν εἴς με]

[ῆ] παραχώρησις καὶ ἐκχώρησις τῶν προκειμένων ἀρουρῶν πασῶν καὶ τελέσω τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δημόσια π[άν]τα καὶ τὴν θείαν διατύπωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῶθ μηνὸς τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος ιθ (ἔτους) / καὶ ιη (ἔτους) / καὶ ια (ἔτους) / ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὡς πρόκειται, καὶ ἐπερωτη-]

[θ]εὶς ὡμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Θεονίνου οὐετρανὸς ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου.

SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. (1969)

VIRGINIA BROWN — *The Manuscript Tradition of the Bellum Civile*

The stemma proposed toward the end of the last century by Meusel for the manuscripts of Caesar's *Bellum Civile* laid the foundation for all further scholarship in this area by eliminating the Renaissance *codices descripti* and arranging the older manuscripts into an order generally acceptable to succeeding editors. Fabre in the last major edition fixes the number of codices to be used in the construction of the text at eight, *L* (Londonensis Add. 10084 s. xii) *M* (Laurentianus 68.8 s. x/xi, xii) *N* (Neapolitanus IV c. 11 s. xi/xii) *R* (Riccardianus 541 s. xiii) *S* (Laurentianus Ashb. 33 s. x) *T* (Parisinus lat. 5764 s. xi) *U* (Vaticanus lat. 3324 s. xi/xii) *V* (Vindobonensis 95 s. xii), and confirms the traditional bipartite stemma with *SLN* opposing *MURTV* on the basis of disarrangement and loss of folia in the former. Within the classes themselves *LN* are closely related, as are *TV*, *UR*, and *MUR* collectively. It should be noted that, although this problem has been much discussed, no codex is considered a copy of any other. The textual evidence for such a genealogy, as in the case of earlier editions, is drawn from incomplete and often inaccurate collations of the nineteenth century for exactly half the number of manuscripts.

The recent monograph by Hering, however, rejects this scheme entirely, suggesting instead the derivation of *LN* from *S*, *R* from *U*, *V* from *T*, and a common subarchetype for *ST*. His conclusions, while provocative, admit of some scepticism: a stemma based on evidence supplied by complete collations of the *Bellum Gallicum* is applied to the remainder of the corpus with readings reported in various *apparatus critici* (the nature of which has just been described) serving as further support.

The interpretation in this study of a full list of variants and lacunae for all the older manuscripts indicates that neither the earlier view of the manuscripts' descent nor this new proposal presents a satisfactory picture of the tradition. On the basis of common errors and omissions it is possible to agree with Hering that *R* and *LN* are copied from *U* and *S* respectively. In the case of the latter it can be shown that *L* is a copy

of *N*, thereby giving three generations with the same strain of text. This relationship obviates the necessity in earlier stemmata of an intermediary as the exemplar of *LN*. Since *N(L)* exhibits to a lesser degree the grave inversions of *S* in the continuity of the narrative, it also suggests that *S* and *N* must have been copied in the same scriptorium where the model of *S* was still preserved. In this way the scribe of *N* would have had access to another manuscript more or less in order.

On the other hand, the problem of *V*'s parentage must remain moot. Granted that there are no significant readings in the codex suggesting its independence from *T*, there are two lengthy omissions in *T* which do not appear in its alleged offspring. Either *V* was derived independently along with *T* from a common model or the scribe of the former supplied the lacunae of the parent *T* with the aid of *L*. The agreement in error between *V* and *L*, first noted by Cupaiuolo, is not particularly significant or widespread and may well be merely fortuitous. The stemma proposed here retains the earlier view of the independence of *V* while questioning its possible connection with *L*.

With regard to the relationship of the two groups to one another, the scanty evidence of common errors and omissions is not sufficient to link *T* with *S* by means of a common model, and the *Bindefehler* of *MU(R)TV* are equally unimpressive. Rather than yield to the tendency to reduce the number of major divisions to the more usual bipartite stemma, a more reasonable solution, on the basis of the collations, is the formulation of a stemma with three separate branches (*S*, *TV*, *MU*) descending from the same archetype. The classification of errors common to all the manuscripts in the new stemma proves that this exemplar was written in minuscules and preceded by at least one earlier manuscript in minuscules and by still earlier codices in uncials and capitals.

Further to the question of a single exemplar, no traces of a new and independent strain of text emerge in the nine twelfth-century folia of *M*. Hence the natural inference that the recopying must have been occasioned by physical damage. The ninety-four *codices recentiores* examined, inasmuch as they are transcribed or compiled only from older manuscripts already known, also point to the fact that the survival of a single manuscript from antiquity is responsible for the transmission of the text. Italian scribes play the main role in the production and dissemination of later versions, and their subscriptions are enlightening for the history of the older models.

From the viewpoint of the editor, the conclusions drawn in this dissertation indicate that readings from only five (*SMUTV*) of the eight manuscripts hitherto used need be taken into account. He may, at

the same time, apply the "mechanical method" of the tripartite stemma and arrive with some confidence at the probable reading of the archetype.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1969

JOHN S. CRAWFORD — *Roman Commercial Buildings of Asia Minor and Their Relation to Urban Complexes*

This dissertation defines and puts into a chronological framework a number of groups of commercial buildings of the Roman period in Asia Minor. Since an amount of information about each building was necessary, the study was limited to the ones known either by detailed description or by excavation. Therefore no attempt was made to cover the considerable number of inscriptions or coin types that refer to buildings no longer extant.

The first chapter describes the sites and commercial buildings studied and examines the functions of the buildings through their inner circulation patterns. The buildings' relationships to their entire urban plans are also discussed. The succeeding chapters place these buildings in typologically consistent chronological groups.

The first group of buildings that form a coherent group both typologically and chronologically are commercial, in the following cities: Aspendos, Sagalassos, Selge, and Termessos. The plans of their complexes, in the author's opinion, are derived directly from the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon. The chronological period of this type of plan is most probably from about 190 B.C. to 133 B.C.

The second group consists of commercial areas joined to theaters and odeia. Examples exist at Aphrodisias, Side, and Xanthos. Though only one building of this group, the Portico of Tiberius at Aphrodisias, is datable by an inscription, comparison with similar complexes at Ostia and at Lepcis Magna, which are securely datable, suggest that the type of plan belongs to the Julio-Claudian period and seems more specifically related to the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius.

The third group consists of commercial buildings joined with stadia. Complexes of this type occur at Aspendos and Perge. Unfortunately, there is no way to date these buildings precisely. They date generally to the late first or second century A.D.

The fourth group is composed of market-hall complexes located at Heracleia-under-Latmos, Izmir, "Seleuceia in Pamphylia," and Termessos Maior. The group may be dated from the middle of the second century A.D. to the end of that century.

The fifth group is of colonnaded streets with shops. Such complexes are found at Ephesos, Izmir, Perge, Sardis, and Side and were important features at Byzantine Constantinople. These can be grouped chronologically in the late third to middle fourth century A.D.

The rest of the dissertation deals with different urbanistic problems and their solutions in ancient urban design. The commercial buildings in the groups cited are responses at different periods to problems of circulation and the rise of social functions in commercial areas.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Archaeology 1969

JOHN M. GLEASON — *Studies in Livy's Language*

David Packard's computer work on Livy in 1967-1968 produced, before the concordance to Livy was finished (HUP 1968), an index to Livy's words, a frequency listing, and a reverse alphabetization. This thesis is a collection of lexicographical studies using these aids and intended to test or clarify various earlier stylistic studies.

The largest project concerned S. G. Stacey's *Die Entwicklung des livianischen Stiles* (1898). Stacey, arguing mostly from certain observed peculiarities of the first decade of Livy, argued that the early books showed much un-Ciceronian Latin, which was gradually given up as the work progressed. A sampling of about 9% of Livy's vocabulary — all the *hapax legomena*, a relatively easy set of words to isolate — was checked for the distribution of words unique to Livy, words apparently found first in Livy, and words which seem a variation on some other more common form or compound in the work. As Stacey had claimed, the first pentad led all the others. But the development he argued for did not appear, the distribution of the above items being quite zigzag, bolstering the claim of Stacey's critics that any peculiarities in books 1-5 reflect more the material of these books than Livy's stylistic habits.

Next, a full reworking of studies by A. Schmidt, who had discerned strong patterns in Livy's use of words of various form classes, such as nouns in *-men* or *-mentum*, adjectives in *-bundus* or *-lis*, adverbs in *-im*. In most cases, the patterns claimed did not appear.

Last, some smaller projects. Ronald Syme's list of "Words not in Sallust" (from *Sallust*) was checked against the usage of Livy and Tacitus, and it was found that in most cases the words were very uncommon in all three, so that the omission probably does not reflect idiosyncrasies of Sallust. Syme's "Some Words not in Tacitus" (from

Tacitus) was checked against Livy with much the same results, but this check is weakened by there having been no index to Sallust available at the time.

Then some items from Axelson's *Unpoetische Wörter*: the usage of *mulier* and *femina* in Livy was studied. As Axelson's work had suggested, *femina* was found to be in the process of supplanting *mulier* as a normal word for "woman," but still seemed to carry some emphatic connotation most of the time. Finally, many of Axelson's sets of synonyms were tabulated for Livy.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1969

DIANNE H. HOGENDORN — *Declamatory Influences in Lucan's
Pharsalia*

Writers of the Silver Age, and Lucan in particular, have been frequently characterized as "rhetorical," a term not without overtones of disapproval. Most critics have followed Quintilian's lead in accepting the type of rhetoric Vergil distilled into his poetic diction, while rejecting the more specific and blatant influence of declamation as it appears in Lucan's work. This study attempts to ascertain the nature, extent, and desirability of the latter relationship.

In his choice and treatment of subject matter, Lucan turned to some of the topics actually listed as school exercises by Seneca the Elder and Quintilian. Even where no exact correspondence of theme can be traced, the poet often arranged his characters' speeches in a manner similar to the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* by presenting the two opposite sides of a question.

Lucan's method of character portrayal derives from several sources, but his attitude toward the republican heroes certainly accords with that of the declaimers. Furthermore, he tended to draw his figures in a stereotyped way, as was common in the schools, especially in the depiction of virtue and vice.

More obviously declamatory in their origins are Lucan's descriptions and descriptive digressions. Many, related only indirectly to the subject at hand, were inserted for pure display, while others, although germane, are extravagant in their conception and execution. The poet also exhibited the declaimers' preference for geographical, historical, scientific, and supernatural matter to mythology. The cumulative

effect of these passages is detrimental in itself: it burdens the structure of the poem.

The philosophical digressions cannot be isolated from the foregoing decoration, since the very intermingling of philosophy and description was declamatory. The topics employed by Lucan are for the most part the commonplaces regarding degeneracy, speculation on causes, and the like, which the declaimers so often inserted at random in their speeches. Lucan seems to have had a definite purpose in mind, however, because the climax of his narrative, the battle at Pharsalus, contains the greatest numbers of these philosophical passages. In fact they have an integral connection with the poem and carry its main thesis, namely, the senseless perversity of the war during its occurrence and in its consequences.

Lucan reinforced his paradoxical subject matter by the application of certain popular declamatory figures of speech. Notable among these are his epigrams. Although the poet's use of general reflections or aphorisms is quite ordinary, his pungent observations on specific themes are ingenious yet seldom fall into the outrageous extravagance that Seneca the Elder found in so many declaimers. Like them, however, Lucan tended to employ epigrams excessively and to the exclusion of other figures, thus purchasing force at the price of variety.

Only somewhat less frequent are the poet's apostrophes, exclamations, and rhetorical questions. They serve the same function as the epigrams, to dramatize the subject matter and enhance it to a high pitch of emotional immediacy. All these figures appear more consistently in the speeches and the poet's own cogitations, as opposed to the more narrative passages.

Lucan's sentence structure, and through it the weight of the whole poem, was affected by another declamatory feature, the juxtaposition of patterned clauses. These most often fall into balanced sentences, tricola, or tetracola. Inasmuch as such sentences usually depend on repetition or antithesis for their effect, they reinforce all the figures mentioned earlier. Moreover, they occur with greater regularity in the poem, even in the less obviously declamatory portions.

Many other rhetorical devices can be found in Lucan's work, but they belong to the more general type of rhetoric found in Latin poetry and were not employed with such vigor in the declamations. Therefore it becomes clearer that both Lucan and the declaimers erred in the too frequent application of a small number of figures and that Lucan's poem suffers in many instances not from declamation itself but from its faults, faults open to criticism in any genre. A maturer genius was

needed for the difficult task of blending the better features of declamation with poetry. Yet Lucan was by no means completely unsuccessful, since he achieved a coherent force by constantly stating with the most striking language from the schools his message of irony and despair.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1969

MERVYN M. KEIZER — *The Structural Technique of Latin Didactic Poetry*

This dissertation is an essay in literary history: an examination of the tradition of didactic poetry, with particular emphasis on its Latin "practitioners," and restricted to the area of their structural technique.

Each didactic poem analyzed within the thesis possesses, in terms of broad structural technique, an internal consistency, with a clear division between Proem and Argument and with a systematic relationship between the constituent elements of Proem and Argument respectively. Further, it is implied that, taken together, the poems possess (*mutatis mutandis*) a common method, a uniform approach, and an unchanging technique that can with reason be called didactic, as distinct, for example, from epic or lyric. Although some of the elements, both structural and thematic, common to didactic poems may of course be found in other literary genres, their specific collocation within the poems analyzed and the didactic corpus generally entitles that corpus to be regarded as a separate genre.

The poems included are as follows: Lucretius *De rerum natura*; Virgil, *Georgics*; Horace, *Ars poetica*; Ovid, *Ars amatoria* and *Remedia amoris*; Manilius, *Astronomica*. In terms of distributive emphasis, the analyses of Lucretius and Virgil occupy more than one half of the thesis.

Within the Proems of each poem, the main elements discussed are the syllabus, the summary, the eulogy, the invocation, and the transition; within the Argument, the principle, the proof, the transition, the definition, the *refutatio*, and the conclusion.

Harvard University

Degree in Classical Philology 1969

NANCY HIRSCHLAND RAMAGE — *Studies in Early Etruscan Bucchero*

The period covered in this study of early bucchero pottery in Etruria ranges from about 650–600 B.C. The finest examples are found in the earliest tombs, notably the Regolini-Galassi Tomb and Tomb 4 in the Cerveteri Museum. But not all the early tombs have bucchero of equal quality; the Camera degli Alari in the Villa Giulia Museum, dated c. 650–620, contains bucchero *sottile* which is early and fine, but not so thin-walled or elegantly decorated as the pieces in the above-mentioned tombs. One must conclude that the skill and accomplishment of the potters varied in the early workshops.

The main center of production seems to have been Caere, which had by far the largest quantity and variety of early shapes. The new technique discovered there soon spread to other major South Etruscan cities such as Veii. Tarquinia seems to have lagged behind the greatest centers of the south in the production of bucchero, but its types are studied here especially for the contrast they provide and also because Tarquinia served as an important link with the north. Isolated pieces found elsewhere, such as Vetulonia, were probably imported from the workshops of Cerveteri. The later and heavier bucchero of central and northern Etruria was not included in this paper.

Bucchero shapes are generally found to be derived from metal prototypes, even if there was sometimes an intermediate impasto stage. Not only the forms themselves, with their sharp curves, flat handles, and thin walls, but also the frequently silvered shiny surfaces, are survivals of a strong metal tradition. Some of the pieces in the Regolini-Galassi Tomb were covered with a thin layer of pure silver, attached by a mercury substance which has now turned red. Other early bucchero pots are also sometimes found with a silver lamination as thin as delicate foil. Evidently bucchero pottery was considered an inexpensive facsimile of vessels in precious metal.

The origins of bucchero shapes stem from three sources: indigenous Italic, Greek, and Near Eastern. Most of the types had already been established by the late eighth century, when heavy trade and imports created the "first orientalizing period." Villanovan pots at that time suddenly appeared in new shapes directly imitating Greek and Near Eastern models. Many of these types continued in local pottery with minor variations until the mid-seventh century, when they were adopted by bucchero potters. It was always the most recent and thus contemporary version of a particular shape that was imitated in the new technique; the older types had become obsolete. It is interesting that

some of the types imitated in the first orientalizing period must already have died out before bucchero began, for they are not found in that fabric.

The decoration is also influenced by the same three sources, but the "dotted fan" and rouletted line are made by a new technique particularly characteristic of bucchero pottery. This decorative motif, very fine and precise on early pots, becomes progressively less so toward the end of the century. The probable types of instruments used to make such fans and lines are discussed.

One of the problems in the study of foreign influences on Etruscan art has been to determine the routes by which such influences arrived, and which intermediary traders or craftsmen may have handed on particular shapes or motifs. There is specific evidence for direct contact with Assyria in a unique umbilicate bucchero bowl with heads around the edge, in the Villa Giulia Museum. It is a close imitation of a similar silver bowl found at Nimrud. Another remarkable parallel exists for an Assyrian motif of three animals in a circle, found on a disk applied to a royal robe on an Assyrian relief, and on a bucchero pot from Vetulonia, as well as an Etruscan bronze disk.

In a typology of the principal bucchero shapes, the derivation of each type is discussed, the earliest appearances in bucchero are enumerated, and then the variations of form are categorized for what I have termed "transitional" bucchero, i.e. the pieces dating from c. 620-600 B.C. This typology was made essentially from the collections of the Lerici Foundation in Rome and the Cerveteri storerooms. A relative chronology, based on the occurrence of types in the earliest tombs and on those of the latter part of the century, is included. Sections and profiles of the bucchero from the most important early tomb groups, and of the bucchero shapes discussed in the typology, have been drawn from the original pots:

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Degree in Classical Archaeology 1969

HOLLY LEE SCHANZ — *Freestanding Groups in Greek Sculpture to the End of the Fourth Century*

Freestanding sculptural groups, like other arts practiced by the Greeks, developed within traditional forms. In the case of group composition the four traditional forms were set by the early fifth century. Two of

these ways of conceiving a group, the dramatic group and the group of interlocked figures, were distinctly Greek, while the other two, the pair statue and the row group, were employed much as they had been inherited from Egypt. Few pair statues survive in monumental sculpture — the cult group of Zeus and Hera seen by Pausanias in the Temple of Hera at Olympia has perished, and the much later colossal group from Lykousoura is in fragments — but there are many pair representations in the minor arts.

The row group, however, found lasting popularity to which bases in all the sanctuaries of Greece bear witness. The first preserved example, the Samian group signed by Geneleos as sculptor, is a family group much in the Egyptian style. Several other family dedications follow its lead: the lost portrait statues of the Makedonian royal family in the Philippeion at Olympia, the dedication of Daochos the Thessalian at Delphi, the Progonoi of Antigonos Gonatas on Delos. Yet in every case except that of the Samian family, about which nothing is known, these genealogical monuments are intruders set up by men whose ancestors had no more place in Greece than they themselves. While the row group corresponds exactly to the catalogue-making, genealogy-inventing side of Greek literature, in sculpture Greeks applied its genealogical principle not to personal but to national ancestors, of whom there is a long line of dedications: the Greek Heroes of the Trojan War at Olympia; the Eponymous Heroes in Athens; the Seven against Thebes, the Epigonoï; the Arkadian Heroes, the Argive Heroes, and others at Delphi. Occasionally the form had a purely political content like that of the Lysander monument at Delphi, but the usual practice was for a state to dedicate images of the Heroes from whom the people believed themselves to be descended.

Dramatic groups, tableaux vivants portraying one stage in a continuing process, began to flourish in early fifth-century Athens under the influence of Attic drama. Drama, especially tragedy, was the most powerful and public form of art in Athens and provided a climate where the other arts could meet and mingle, somewhat as they did during the period of the Italian baroque. One significant aspect of early classical drama was historical tragedy, which flared briefly but brightly in plays by Aischylos and Phrynichos and had counterparts in monumental wall painting, vase painting, and also in sculpture. The figure of Miltiades strikes a historical note in the Marathon monument at Delphi. However, the first and grandest historical monument in sculpture is the dramatic group of the Tyrant-Slayers. I am convinced that Antenor's group of the Tyrant-Slayers was set up after the ostracism of Hipparchos son of

Charmos in 487 and that the group made by Kritios and Nesiotes about ten years later repeated the composition of Antenor's group.

Understandably, the dramatic group was adopted in regions where Attic tragedy was received with enthusiasm. Across the Ionian Sea the Tarentines commissioned from Onatas of Aigina a large dedication for victory over the Peuketians. It stood opposite the Chian Altar at Delphi and represented the victorious military leaders of Taras gathered around the body of the slain Iapygian king, a bronze parallel to those tragic scenes where the body is brought out on stage and actors and choros gather around it. The resemblance to tragedy — especially Aischylean tragedy — is so strong that I date the monument between 476 (when Aischylos visited Sicily and produced *Aitnaiai*) and 473 (when Taras was defeated by the Iapygians). Onatas was also the artist of the Achaian Heroes at Olympia where the Heroes, on a long semi-circular base, stood like a choros watching Nestor, on a small round base across the path from them, shake their lots in his helmet to determine which was to fight Hektor.

These monuments all show baroque elements — movement, momentariness, spatial relationships which involve the spectator in the composition — so strong and so widespread that we must recognize the Early Classical Baroque as a definite style. Hellenistic sculptors, especially the Pergamenes, owed much to the early fifth century, as did the artists of the age of Alexander. To judge from the preserved monuments, there appears to be a hiatus in the production of dramatic groups during the period of Pheidian classicism, but the fourth century — which also saw the revival of historical drama by Theodektes and Moschion — gave us the Hunt of Alexander (at Delphi) and other dramatic groups, setting the trend for the Pergamenes to follow.

Meanwhile, sculptors in every region of Greece had been working on another distinctly Hellenic form of group composition, the group of interlocked figures, which is the sculptural parallel to lyric poetry. Groups of two interlocked figures always present one decisive moment so intense that it is lifted above the ordinary plane of life and set apart as an encounter with the divine. Literature best captures this in the odes of Pindar. Like Pindar, these groups express the crucial moment as struggle or attainment; and, like him, they represent it through legend.

Struggle is represented in the "Theseus and Prokrustes" of the Akropolis Museum and in one of the lost akroteria from the Stoa Basileios. Attainment and fulfillment are often expressed by divine rape, an image of the union of human and divine which accounts for the phenomenon of genius. Such abductions were apparently the best-

loved subjects for interlocked groups and were frequently cast as akroteria to stand, like the Zeus and Ganymedes of Olympia, against the sky on the roof of a temple or other important building, although the theme appears also in pediments, as at Eretria, and freestanding groups, like the one from the Agora.

The two abduction akroteria from the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, c. 425-417, are the last to be wholly in the spirit of Pindar. Later groups show a change of attitude toward divine rape which must be part of the skepticism permeating Euripides' *Ion*, c. 418. In the *Ion*, divine rape causes suffering and hardship resolved only at great length. Ultimate bliss is achieved, but after so much pain that it becomes ambiguous. Similarly, abduction groups continue to crown buildings, but the serenity of the earlier groups is replaced by agitation, and the preliminary conflict rather than the ultimate union is portrayed.

Since the abduction group was the appropriate and usual central akroterion, it was a radical innovation when, in the 420s, the Hephaisteion was crowned with a group of two girls playing ephedrismos, a game of youth and freedom from care which, like the fantasies of Aristophanes, must have seemed bliss indeed to an Athens torn by the Peloponnesian War. At the same time ephedrismos is an *agon* and the Hephaisteion group — still in the spirit of Pindar — represents a moment of victory lifted clear of time. It is another statement, compatible with that of the abduction groups, of fulfillment attained after struggle.

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LESLIE LEE THREATTE — *The Phonology of Attic Inscriptions*

The only systematic grammar devoted to the Attic inscriptions is that of K. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (first edition 1885; third and final edition, prepared by E. Schwyzer, 1900). Essentially an appendix to this is a dissertation of 1915, *De titulis atticis quaestiones orthographicae et grammaticae*, by W. Lademann. Since these earlier studies large numbers of new texts have come to light, particularly in the American excavations in the Athenian Agora, and the older texts have been improved by numerous corrections and new readings. A new and comprehensive study of the grammar of the Attic inscriptions is therefore needed.

The present thesis, as set forth in the Introduction, undertakes the

beginning of a new grammar with a thorough study of the phonology. All the new texts and fragments were carefully studied, and examples collected from them. The examples cited in the Meisterhans-Schwyzler and Lademann works were checked and revised on the basis of the improved texts now available.

Chapter 1: *Vowels and Diphthongs*

The following are among the more interesting phenomena treated:

Σεραπης, *Σαραπης*, and related proper names. The forms with alpha begin c. 250 B.C. and can be found as late as c. A.D. 250; they are most common in the first century B.C. The earliest example with epsilon can be dated securely to 138/137 or 137/136 B.C., but most examples are from the Roman period, particularly from the second and third centuries A.D.

E for *Αι*. A few examples of *ε* for *αι* or of *αι* for *ε* can be found in the first century A.D., but the phenomenon only becomes frequent from c. A.D. 150. Most cases involve demotics (e.g. *Ἐξωνεύς*, *Πεανιεύς*, *Βησεεύς*, *Πειρεεύς*, etc.; *Διομαιεύς*, *Τοινεμαιεύς*, etc.). Examples like *γίγνετε* for *γίγνεται* (IG 2².13209.11, dated c. A.D. 150) or *παῖδαις* for *παῖδες* (IG 2².12403.5, dated s. ii/iii A.D.) are very rare. Examples of *αι* for *ε* occur in 26 texts, of *ε* for *αι* in 73; two very late texts contain both errors: IG 2².4533 (s. iii A.D.) and 2².1121.29 (A.D. 305/306).

Ἐατός *Ἀτός*. Some 20 texts of the period 50 B.C.–A.D. 50 contain examples with the upsilon omitted, but often the correct spelling occurs in the same text; cf. also *Ναπακτία*, IG 2².9988 (first century B.C.?) and *Νασσνίκη*, W. Peek, *Attische Grabinschriften* 2 (1958) p. 39 no. 140 (*aet. Rom.*?). The only examples later than A.D. 50 are *ἑατῆς*, IG 2².3291.5–6 (A.D. 132) and *ἄτῆ*, IG 2².10770.5 (s. ii A.D.).

Introduction of *ει* to represent the long *ε* of secondary formation (as in *λιπεῖν*, *εἶναι*, etc., the so-called “spurious diphthong”). The spelling *EIMI* (attested from c. 650 and more frequent than *EMI*) may be due to analogy with the second person singular *εἶ* (suggestion of E. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* [Philadelphia 1940] 34); other examples of *EI* for *E* do not occur until shortly before the middle of the fifth century B.C. *EI* for *E* is not uncommon in decrees and other texts of the second half of the fifth century, but the more normal *E* usually occurs in other cases in the same text. Of the texts dated securely to the period 403/402–378/377 B.C., most have only the spelling *E* or an indiscriminate mixture of *E* and *EI*; those few with only *EI* usually have only one, or at the most two, examples of it. Texts of the

next period (377/376–353/352 B.C.) more often have only *EI* than a mixture of *EI* and *E*, and *EI* is more common in texts of the latter group; no substantial text with only *E* can be dated to this period. After 353/352 *E* occurs only very rarely (last examples c. 330 B.C.). Until *EI* becomes the established spelling, it is not surprising that there are occasional examples of *E* wrongly used to spell the true diphthong *ει*, e.g. *κῆται* for *κεῖται* in *IG* 2².1237.69 (396/395); there are about 15 examples in the period 450–350 B.C.

Confusion of *ει* and *ηι*. The beginnings of the confusion between *ει* and *ηι* can be seen in the late fifth century: e.g. *ἐμ πόλῃι* in *Hesperia* 14 (1945) p. 115 no. 10 line 3 (425/424 B.C.), and the datives in both *ει* and *ηι* in *Hesperia* 32 (1963) p. 144 no. 1 (c. 404/403 B.C.). Examples become far more numerous in the course of the fourth century B.C., especially of *ει* replacing *ηι*. In the period 300–150 *ει* is far more common than *ηι*. After 150 *ει* passes to *ῑ*, and *ηι* returns as the usual spelling in the dative of nouns in *-ηι*, the subjunctive, and in the verbal augment; in these cases the total disappearance of *ηι* had always been prevented by analogy. In other cases (e.g. *Χολλείδης λειτουργός*, etc.), where *ηι* had completely disappeared, *ει* (or *ῑ*) remains the standard spelling. The names of tribes (*Αἰγής*, etc.) form a third class: in these the spellings with *ηι* never quite died out in the period 300–150 B.C., and after 150 forms with *ηι*, *ει*, and *ῑ* can all be found.

Ei and *ῑ*. *Κλινίο* is the spelling used on the ostraca of the elder Alcibiades (c. 460), and inscriptions on vases of the sixth century provide similar examples; *Κλενίας* and *Κλεινίας* are the forms on stone inscriptions of the later fifth century. Before 150 B.C., cases in which *ει* and *ῑ* are confused are very rare, but by the first century B.C. this confusion is frequent; in the Roman period it is rampant. Confusion of *ει* and *ῑ* is never frequent; most of the examples are later than A.D. 150, although a new example is securely dated to the reign of Nero (*AM* 67 [1942] p. 45 no. 60, cf. *IG* 2².3278).

H for *ει* before vowels. The majority of examples fall in the period 50 B.C.–A.D. 50, although a few are certainly earlier or later.

Introduction of the Ionic alphabet. After 450 B.C. it is not unusual for texts both public and private to be inscribed entirely in the Ionic alphabet. A list of these is given. Most, but not all, of the state decrees in the Ionic alphabet are proxeny decrees. The various letters of the Ionic alphabet (i.e. *η* as vowel, *ω*, *ξ*, and *ψ*) are also used sporadically in texts carved in the old Attic alphabet; most of these examples date from the second half of the fifth century B.C. Examples with *H* = long vowel are fairly numerous and begin in the early fifth century. Examples

of the proper use of ω are rather rare; in the first half of the fifth century ω often represents the other long o -sound (later ou), cf. *Μελεσίω* and similar forms on ostraca. Only a very few comparable examples of ψ and ξ can be found.

Confusion of η with ϵ and $\epsilon\iota$ ($\bar{\iota}$). Examples in which η and ϵ are confused are confined to private inscriptions; most instances date from the period 150 B.C.–A.D. 150, but a few are certainly earlier as well as later. Most of the examples in which η is confused with $\epsilon\iota$ ($\bar{\iota}$) are later than A.D. 150, but a few are certainly earlier.

Omission of ι in the diphthongs $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\eta\iota$, and $\omega\iota$. This phenomenon is very rarely attested before the last quarter of the second century B.C., when examples begin to become frequent. In Roman times the *iota* may be omitted or not; omission is more frequent, and many texts have both spellings.

Introduction of ou to represent the long o of secondary formation (as in *δηλοῦν*, *βουλή*, etc., the so-called spurious diphthong). Here the situation is similar to that seen in the establishment of $\epsilon\iota$ (see above), except that ou lags behind $\epsilon\iota$ in the fifth and early fourth centuries. After 350 B.C., O for OY is unusual. The late-fourth-century and third-century examples of O for OY are not a continuation of the earlier usage (as Meisterhans believed) but are due to the same desire to save space which prompted *δέκ* for *δέκα* and similar shortenings (cf. J. Kirchner's note to line 199 of *IG* 2².1534B). The incorrect use of O for the true diphthong is rather more common than the corresponding misuse of E ; there are examples in more than 25 texts of the period 450–350 B.C.

Confusion of ω and o . Sporadic examples occur at all periods, chiefly in private texts. After A.D. 150 examples are numerous but are largely confined to a few types: $-\epsilon os$ for $-\epsilon\omega s$ in the genitive, *Λεωντίς* for *Λεωντίς*, *Ζοίλος* for *Ζωίλος*, and a few other proper names.

The chapter concludes with sections on syncope, contraction, elision, crasis, and aphaeresis.

Chapter 2: Consonants

Among the topics discussed are:

Metathesis of ρ , λ . Forms like *Μλιτιάδες*, *Γραγέττιος* are known from fifth-century ostraca. *Κάτροπτον* is the more common form in Attic inscriptions.

Omission of nasal consonants. Somewhat less than 40 instances of an omitted nasal (as in *Ὀλυπικός*) can be found in stone inscriptions;

most of these date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., but a few are of Roman date. This phenomenon is common on early vases.

Erratic use of *H* in the fifth century. Especially after 450 B.C., *H* is often sporadically omitted in texts where it represents the rough breathing; in the decrees *IG* 1².39–126 it is the exceptional text that contains no example in which *H* is omitted. In the latter part of the century *H* is often used incorrectly to begin words which do not begin with the rough breathing. Forms like *παρῆδρος*, *καθῆάπερ*, etc. occur, but *παρέδρος*, *καθάπερ*, etc. are far more usual.

Doubling of *σ* before *κ*, *τ*, *χ*, *θ*, etc. At all periods *σ* is frequently doubled before *κ*, *τ*, *θ*, less often before *χ* (4 examples), rarely before *π*, *β* (2 examples before each), or even *μ* (2 examples).

Confusion between *σ* and *ζ*. This is not common until the second half of the fourth century B.C., when *ζ* had become the voiced sibilant (cf. *ἐνδέσζιμους* and *ἀναβασμούς* side by side in *IG* 2².1672.308 [329/328]).

Simplification of consonant clusters. This phenomenon is very rare in Attic inscriptions; that most commonly attested is *-σρ-* for *-στρ-* in names ending in *-στρατος/-στράτη*.

Ν-ἐφέλκυστικόν. The rules normally taught governing the use of *ν-ἐφέλκυστικόν* are followed by Attic inscriptions only when they are in verse; even then the rules may occasionally be broken, and *ν* appear against the meter. In prose texts the greatest fluctuation in usage prevails; the *ν* may be omitted in one place and included in another, whether before a vowel or a consonant. *Ν-ἐφέλκυστικόν* is less common in the fifth century (in this period the formulaic *ἐγραμμάτενε*, *εἶπε*, etc. usually have no *ν*) than it is in the fourth and later; by 350 B.C. it is more often used than omitted. *Ἔδοξεν* always has the *ν* at all periods.

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STEPHEN V. F. WAITE — *A Computer-assisted Study of the Style of Cato the Elder with Reference to Sallust and Livy*

Four tests that can be used in defining an author's style are here applied to the surviving texts of Cato and to selections from Sallust and Livy. With few exceptions, they indicate a uniformity within Sallust and Livy but general differences not only between Cato and the later authors but also between the *De agri cultura* and the fragments of Cato.

After an explanation of the methods of preparing a text in computer-readable format and a brief description of the χ^2 test, the first feature

considered is word length. Little significant variation is found in its distribution in the narrative of Sallust or Livy; but, because of a greater use of short words, the speeches are differentiated from the narrative. The fragments of Cato have significantly longer words than the *De agri cultura*, which itself is differentiated from every other selection considered and has more internal variation.

Over a sufficiently large sample, sentence length remains uniform within an author. Its distribution distinguishes between authors adequately and does not differentiate the *De agri cultura* from the fragments of Cato.

The number of words used once, twice, and up to the maximum of sixty-two times in arbitrarily divided segments of a thousand words remains consistent in the later authors. There is less consistency in the *De agri cultura*, where the first two thousand-word segments are particularly marked out. This test, which operates without consideration of what specific words are found, does not distinguish between Sallust and Livy. The *De agri cultura*, however, is differentiated from all other selections, including the fragments of Cato, which in turn are not distinguished from the later works.

The fourth feature considered is syllabic patterns, both at the end of sentences and at the end of arbitrarily selected word groups. While the arbitrary word groups are generally differentiated from the sentence ends within each selection, they are not shown as different between authors. In the sentence ends, there is a general differentiation between selections; in particular, the *De agri cultura* and fragments of Cato are distinguished. The only exception is the lack of significant difference between the fragments of Cato and Sallust's *Catilina*.

No conclusive explanation can be given for the difference between the *De agri cultura* and the fragments of Cato without data from a larger corpus. Two conclusions can nevertheless be drawn about Cato's style: first, there is more variety in Cato than in the later authors; second, at least in the *De agri cultura*, Cato uses shorter, choppier words and sentences, most often ending sentences with syllabic patterns not particularly common in Sallust and Livy.

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MARCIA E. WEINSTEIN — *Nine Greek Papyri*

First editions of nine Greek papyri illustrate the variety of problems facing the editor of papyri. The decipherment of each offered many

challenges. Numbers 1-5 are literary, 6-9 are documents. Number 5 was a gift to Harvard University, the others resulted from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus and belong to the Egypt Exploration Society.

The first is a set of four large fragments and six scraps from a roll containing Menander's *Epitrepontes*. The four large fragments duplicate parts of the Cairo Codex and confirm its readings in all but one case, line 51, which seems to be corrupt in both papyri. Of the six unplaced scraps, two are too small and damaged to be placed, two, on the basis of the writing, probably do not belong to the play, and two have been very tentatively placed. Number 2 is a first- or second-century A.D. fragment of New Comedy, containing parts of two columns; 3 is a very small fragment of the ends of seven lines of comic trimeters written in the formal round bookhand of the second century A.D. Number 4 preserves the beginnings of ten lines of dialogue from an unknown comedy. The name Philotis appears in line 5. The scribe wrote in the severe style of the third century A.D. Number 5, ends of comic trimeters written in the second century B.C., appears to be a palimpsest.

The first document, 6, is a second-century A.D. private letter with many confusing allusions to one or more business transactions. In the introduction to 7, a receipt for the proceeds of a forced sale of wheat, dated A.D. 191, the transactions connected with *pyros synagorastikos* are traced. Document 8, a statement in duplicate of refusal to serve as eutheniarch at Oxyrhynchus, dated 12 November A.D. 248, is closely connected with PERlangen 18 in demonstrating how difficult it was to fill the office at that time. The last papyrus, 9, is a contract of substitution in the office of dekanos, dated 10 November A.D. 301, which adds a new office to the list of liturgies. Indices to all the papyri and photographs of all of them complete the thesis.

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